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ENGLISH HISTORY
BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

S. Thomas of Canterbury

ENGLISH HISTORY BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

THE series, of which the present volume is one, aims at setting forth the facts of our National History, political and social, in a way not yet systematically tried in this country, but somewhat like that which Messrs. Hachette have successfully wrought out in France under the editorship of MM. Zeller, Darsy, Luchaire, etc. It is planned not only for educational use but for the general reader, and especially for all those to whom the original contemporary authorities are for various reasons difficult of access.

To each well-defined period of our history is given a little volume made up of extracts from the chronicles, state papers, memoirs, and letters of the time, as also from other contemporary literature, the whole chronologically arranged and chosen so as to give a living picture of the effect produced upon each generation by the political, religious, social and intellectual movements in which it took part.

Extracts from foreign tongues are Englished, and passages from old English authors put into modern spelling, but otherwise as far as may be kept in original form. When needed a glossary is added and brief explanatory notes. To each volume is also appended a short account of the writers quoted and of their relations to the events they describe, as well as such tables and summaries as may facilitate reference. Such illustrations as are given are chosen in the same spirit as the text, and represent monuments, documents, sites, portraits, coins, etc.

The chief aim of the series is to send the reader to the best original authorities, and so to bring him as close as may be to the mind and feelings of the times he is reading about.

No definite chronological system of issue is adopted, but it is hoped that the entire period of Mediæval and Renaissance history may be covered in the space of two or three years.

F. YORK POWELL,
Editor of the Series.

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S. Thomas of Canterbury.

(From the Black Book of the Exchequer.) *Drawn by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., for the Percy Society, 1845.*

ENGLISH HISTORY BY CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

S. Thomas of Canterbury

An account of his Life and Fame

from

The Contemporary Biographers and other Chroniclers

30518

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY

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REVERENDO ADMODUM IN CHRISTO PATRI

WILLELMO

EPISCOPO OXONIENSI

MAGISTRO DOCTISSIMO ATQUE HUMANISSIMO

DISCIPULUS HUMILLIMUS ET FILIUS.

PREFACE.

THE name of Thomas Becket filled so large a place in the history of his own time and in the hearts of succeeding generations that it has seemed fit to offer a somewhat full account of him in this series. Few men have struggled harder to win the name of Saint and few Englishmen have so powerfully impressed the imagination of the nation. Great as was the position which Thomas of London, the first man born on English soil who sat in the seat of Augustine after the Norman Conquest, held, while he lived, as statesman and ecclesiastic, still greater was the fame which he won after his death. "Second after the king in four realms" is he often styled when in the zenith of his power; first among the Saints after the Blessed Virgin he was held for nearly four centuries after his death. Hundreds of churches were dedicated to his memory, and thousands of pilgrims year by year wended their way to his shrine. Literature owes a vast debt to him. Had he not lived as he did we should not have gained some of the finest pieces of writing which the Medieval Chroniclers have left us; and had he not died as he did there

would have been no "Canterbury Tales." He was a great man in an age of great men, and his figure as we approach near to it has still some of the fascination which was so powerful centuries ago. A bold fight for principle, a courageous death, the posthumous triumph of a great personality—these are not soon forgotten.

The point at issue between king and archbishop, which seems at first sight to be a mere question of ecclesiastical privilege, does not readily enlist the interest of a modern reader. But looked at more closely the quarrel will be seen to be well worthy of study. Henry and Becket were both reformers; both longed to purge Church and State of abuses which had grown up in times of trouble and transition. But while the aim of each was in the main similar, the means which each would employ were essentially different. Henry intended to reform the Church by the strong hand of the centralised State, Becket by the force of purely ecclesiastical procedure. One designed a purification from without, the other a reformation from within. And the unfortunate result of the conflict was that the end which they both had in view was very imperfectly realised. Thirty years after the death of Becket the same complaints against the clergy were heard; the need of reform was as urgent as when Henry II. undertook the task.

In this volume I have endeavoured to place before

the reader such a selection from the mass of Becket literature as shall illustrate the character of the man and of the times in which he lived, the place which his memory held in the hearts of Englishmen, with the points of contention and principles at stake in the great conflict as they appeared to the eyes of contemporaries. For few lives of medieval worthies is there such abundance of material. Those to whom the subject is familiar will note omissions, but will be conscious of the difficulty of selection.

The modern books which treat of the archbishop are also very numerous, and to them every student must feel great obligation. I have given a list of those modern works which have helped me, but I must here especially mention the honoured names of two Professors of Modern History at Oxford, Dr. Stubbs and Mr. Freeman. The latter's early essay on S. Thomas of Canterbury and trenchant articles in the Contemporary Review (1878) throw much light on points which other historians have let slip; while to the Bishop of Oxford, for his great history, his famous editions of the Chroniclers of the 12th Century, and his University lectures published and unpublished, I owe a debt which can only be acknowledged with the deepest gratitude and respect.

W. H. HUTTON.

S. John's College, Oxford.
Feast of S. Simon and S. Jude, 1889.

S. Thomas of Canterbury.

1118.—The Birth of Thomas.

Wm. FitzStephen. Materials for the History of Archbishop Becket, vol. iii. p. 14.

Thomas was born in lawful wedlock and of gentle parents, his father being Gilbert, who was sometime sheriff of London, his mother Mahalt (Matilda)—London citizens of the middle class, not usurers nor engaged in business, but living well on their own income.

[This statement is corroborated by the other biographers. Garnier, who got information from S. Thomas' sister, speaks of his parents as "barons de la cit":

"Et Gilleberz Becchez fut ses pèrz apelez
Et sa mère, Mahalz; de nette genz fut nez."—P. 7.

The statement of the Lambeth biographer does not quite agree.]

Anon. Lamb. Materials, iv. p. 81.

Among the towns, villages, and cities of England London is the largest and the chief. Thither, when it was conquered by the Normans, flocked many out of Rouen and Caen, which are the principal cities of Normandy, choosing to become citizens of that city

because it was larger and better stored with the merchandise in which they trafficked. Among these was one Gilbert, surnamed Becket,* born at Rouen, who had a name among others from his birth, his energy, and the promise of his powers. His family was gentle, but had its origin from the citizens; he was industrious in business, and ruled his household well and suitably to his station. He had a wife named Roesa, of Caen, also of burgher birth, seemly in bodily frame yet more seemly in manner of life, ruling well her household, and an obedient wife in the fear of God.

His mother's lessons.

John of Salisbury. Materials, ii. p. 303.

From his earliest years, so he used to say, he learnt from his mother to fear the Lord and to invoke the Blessed Virgin as the guide of his paths and the patroness of his life, and to lay his trust, after Christ, upon her.

. . . So great was the force of his intellect that he could solve new and difficult questions with wisdom, and he rejoiced in so happy a memory that what he had once learned he almost always could easily repeat. In this he surpassed many who were more learned than himself, and they wondered at such a readiness of mind in one who was so much given to other occupations.

* Becket, bequet=a little brook. A. S. Beck is still used in North England. The word is found also often in Norman nomenclature.

His Schooling at Merton.

FitzStephen. Materials, iii. p. 14.

That his father received some divine intimation [of his future] we may learn from this. The father commended him when a child to prior Robert to be educated in the religious house of the canons of Merton. One day came the father to see his son; when the boy was brought into the presence of the prior and his father, his father falling prone worshipped. Said the prior indignant, "O mad old man, what doest thou? Dost fall at thy son's feet? The honour thou doest to him he should do to thee." To whom the father in private answered, "Sir, I know what I do: that boy will be great in the sight of the Lord."

[This extract is given as a typical example of the legends which soon grew up around even the boyhood of the archbishop.]

An escape from death.

Roger of Pontigny. Materials, iv. p. 6. *Cf. Garnier*, p. 8.

["We may be sure that in Roger's version we have the story as it was told by Thomas himself. Roger, one of the monks of Pontigny, among whom Thomas sojourned in his exile, was more likely to hear stories of Thomas' childhood and youth—as distinguished from legends of his birth—in this way than in any other. When Thomas was at Pontigny, neither Thomas in telling a tale nor Roger in noting it down had any temptation to tell it otherwise than according to the best of Thomas' remembrance. This gives a peculiar value to the few notices of this stage of Thomas' life which Roger preserves. They come more nearly than anything else among our materials to the nature of autobiography."—*Freeman.* In the hands of other writers, as Grim, the stopping of the wheel became a miracle.]

Now there was sojourning in his father's house a certain knight by name Richer of Laigle, one accounted noble and honourable, yet ever intent upon hawking and hunting. While yet a boy, Thomas, when released from school at the half-year, would often delight to accompany this man in these pursuits, and full oft found pleasure in such employments. And hence he is reported to have acquired his fondness for such pursuits, to which afterwards in riper years he would apply himself so often as his leisure allowed. Now it chanced that the said knight one day according to his custom went forth for such purpose, and Thomas followed on horseback. Now they had to pass a certain very swift stream where was a small and narrow bridge which might only be passed afoot. There was also a little lower down a mill towards which the stream, pent in on either side by banks, made headlong course, Now the knight, whose ardour made scorn of danger, was the first to cross the bridge; whom Thomas, all muffled in his hood,* as one who feared no mishap, follows hard upon. And lo! when he had come midway of the bridge, of a sudden his horse stumbles and boy and horse together fall into the stream. And so, engulfed by the waters and parted from his horse by the violence of the current, he is carried downwards, and already he was approaching the mill, and in danger of being crushed by the wheel or choked by the waters. Meanwhile, when Thomas seemed on the brink of death, the man who had charge of the

* "Tut enchaperunez."—*Garnier*, p. 9.

mill, knowing nought of what was forward, suddenly shut off the water from the wheel. Now the knight and his company were following the boy along the bank with great and piteous cries; and the mill being now at rest and its roar abated their shouts were heard, and the man aforesaid at last comes forth from the mill wondering what this should mean, and spying Thomas in the midst of the waters quickly thrust in his hand and drew him forth to land scarce breathing and but half alive. Who will believe that this fell out by chance, and not rather that it was the Providence of God Who in mercy brought such sudden and unlooked-for aid to the boy in his peril, who should be the champion of His Church?

S. Thomas goeth to school.

Saga, R. S., trans. E. Magnusson, i., p. 18.

Now when young Thomas hath in lowliness and true obedience gone through the teaching he could have in his parents' house he goeth to school for the gaining of a higher instruction, and becometh a scholar as quick of learning, keen of memory, and clear of understanding in things concerning the heart no less than those appertaining to book-lore, as age enableth and time alloweth him. Now the holy book* relateth so much of his mastery in learning that by reason of his having in the end fully and fairly understood the seven arts which are called *liberales*,

* Probably the lost life by Richard of Cricklade, from which the rest of this chapter is apparently derived, as there is no similar account in any extant contemporary biography.

he betook himself to studying at school both inland and even abroad as far as France, mainly in its chief city, Paris, which at all times hath had the most renowned school in northern lands both as to learned scholars and bookly arts.

C. 1135.—How S. Thomas cometh home from school.

Saga, Rolls Series, trans. E. Magnusson, i., p. 28.

At the time when Stephen had become king of England the blessed Thomas cometh home from school. He was now two and twenty years of age, slim of growth and pale of hue, dark of hair, with a long nose and straightly featured face; blithe of countenance was he, winning and loveable in all conversation, frank of speech in his discourse, but slightly stuttering in his talk, so keen of discernment and understanding that he could alway's make difficult questions plain after a wise manner. Of such wondrously strong memory was he that whatsoever he had heard of sentences and law-awards he could cite it at any time he chose to give it forth. By reason of these great gifts of God which we have told of even now it was easily understood by wise men that he was predestined to a high station in the church of God. He now sojourneth in London in his father's house, his mother having come to her end by this time. And now that he hath come back home to his father's abode he shapeth himself according to the wont of those who have lately come back from school, in that he studieth his books and fasteneth in his memory what aforetime he had heard from the mouth

of the master. Such, too, is a right common custom among this kind of folk, at the time they make ready to wend their way homeward to their native land, that if they happen to have spare money about them they purchase school books in order that they may preserve fully the knowledge of the good things which once they understood.

His early training.

Garnier, p. 9.

His sire came then to one of London's great city
A wealthy man, much known of French and Englishry,
Osbern Witdeniers, who retained him instantly.
Anon he was his scribe, two year perchance, or three;
Till well instruct and gentle he began to be.

William FitzStephen mentions that Thomas was at one time employed under the sheriffs; and, since Osbern Eight-pennies was a man eminent in the city, Mr. Freeman has suggested that he may have been sheriff, and that "the employment under Osbern mentioned by Edward Grim, Roger of Pontigny, and Garnier may have been the same as the employment under the sheriffs mentioned by William FitzStephen."

His introduction to Archbishop Theobald.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 15.

As his years and virtues increased he entered the household of Theobald the archbishop of Canterbury of blessed memory, being introduced to his notice by two brothers of Boulogne, Baldwin the archdeacon and Master Eustace, frequent guests of his father's and friends of the archbishop: and thus he was the

more intimate with him since the said Gilbert used to converse with the said archbishop of their neighbourhood and their kinsfolk, he being by origin a Norman and of knightly blood and a neighbour by birth. On the introduction of these men and of the father the archbishop numbered Thomas with his flock, and found him thereafter strong and good. At the town of Harrow he first came to the court of the archbishop in the company of one esquire only, Ralf of London.

His preferments.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 17.

His first appointment had he at the gift of John bishop of Worcester, the church of S. Mary-le-Strand. Afterwards, on the presentation of the archbishop, the church of Otford. Afterwards he held a prebend in S. Paul's and at Lincoln. Then, licence for him to sojourn abroad being obtained by his lord the archbishop, he studied in laws at Bologna* for a year, and afterwards at Auxerre. In process of time and in consequence of his virtues the archbishop ordained him deacon and made him archdeacon of Canterbury, which is the dignity in the Church of the English next after the bishops and abbats, and which brought him an hundred pounds of silver.

* Where Gratian the great canonist was then lecturing. It was customary for the archdeacons to study civil and canon law abroad. Cf. Bishop Stubbs, *Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*, p. 302-3.

1144.—The enmity of Roger of Pont l'Evêque.

Roger of Pontigny. Materials, iv., p. 9.

There was moreover one, high uplifted both by his nearness to the archbishop and by his ecclesiastical position, by name Roger of Pont l'Évêque, archdeacon of Canterbury,* who did not bear with equanimity the favour which Thomas obtained in the palace. He not only was consumed internally by envy, but would often break out openly into contumely and unseemly language, so that he would often call Thomas *clerk Baillehache* [Bailhatch's clerk], for so was named the clerk with whom he first came to the palace. Nor was this passion of envy but for a short space and transitory, as the future was to prove.

1154.—Thomas made the King's Chancellor.

Roger of Pontigny. Materials, iv., p. 4.

Now [on the young king's accession] there was in the Church of his realm no slight trepidation, both on account of the king's youth and from the known hostility of those about him to the rights of the Church's freedom. Nor was this unnecessary, as the event proved. And the archbishop of Canterbury, anxious about the present and apprehensive for the future, sought to find some remedy for the evils which he feared were at hand; and it seemed to him that if he could make Thomas a partner of the king's counsels there might result therefrom the greatest peace and quietness for the English Church. For he

* In 1147 Roger was made archbishop of York, and Thomas succeeded him as archdeacon of Canterbury.

knew that he was a man great-souled and prudent, who had a zeal for good according to knowledge, and strove with all his heart for the freedom of the Church. Having sought therefore the advice of the bishops Philip of Bayeux and Arnulf of Lisieux, on whose counsels the king at the first relied, he began to set forth in speech the wisdom, the hardihood, and the fidelity of Thomas, and the admirable sweetness of his manners. The said bishops agreeing to the archbishop's wish, Thomas entered the royal court and obtained the dignity and office of Chancellor.

[We learn from John of Salisbury that Becket was intended to influence the king, lest he should deal with England as a conquered land.]

1155-1162.—Thomas as Chancellor.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 22.

The nobles of England and the neighbouring kingdoms sent their children to the chancellor for his service—whom he brought up in honourable nurture and doctrine, and some he returned to their parents and kinsfolk trained for knightly deeds and others he retained with him. The king himself, his lord, commended to him his son, the heir of the kingdom, for nurture, and the chancellor placed him among the young nobles of his own age, from whom he received due respect, as well as masters and his own servants, as his rank required. Yet in spite of the pomp of his high secular honours he himself often received discipline in private, baring his back to the scourge—when he was near London from Ralf

the prior of Holy Trinity, when near Canterbury from Thomas, priest of S. Martin's. He was lowly in his own eyes; he was lowly to the lowly, to the proud harsh and violent, as though it were born in him

To spare the subject and to crush the proud.*

Many nobles and knights did homage to the chancellor, whom he, save their fealty to the king, received and protected with his patronage as his men. When he prepared to cross the sea he had six or more vessels in his train, and he suffered no one who sought to cross to remain behind: having come to land he rewarded his masters and sailors to their satisfaction. There never passed a day on which he did not make some large present of horses, birds, clothes, gold and silver plate, or money. For so it is written: some are lavish of their own and always abound, some seize the goods of others and always are lacking. By Divine inspiration and the counsel of Thomas, the lord king did not long retain vacant bishoprics and abbacies, so that the patrimony of the Crucified might be brought into the treasury—as was afterwards done, but be it far from him to do it further—and he bestowed them with little delay on honourable persons, and according to God's law. Thus by his virtues, his greatness of mind, and his evident merits the chancellor became most acceptable to the king, the clergy, the nobility, and the people.

When business was over the king and he would play together like boys of the same age; in hall, in church

* *Virg. Æn.*, vi. 854.

they sat together, or rode out. One day they were riding together in the streets of London; the winter was severe: the king saw an old man coming, poor, in thin and ragged garb, and he said to the chancellor "Do you see him?" "I see," said the chancellor. The king: "How poor he is, how feeble, how scantily clad. Would it not be great charity to give him a thick warm cloak?" The Chancellor: "Great indeed; and, my king, you ought to have a mind and an eye to it." Meanwhile the poor man came up; the king stopped, and the chancellor with him. The king pleasantly accosted him and asked if he would have a good cloak. The poor man, who knew them not, thought that this was a jest, not earnest. The king to the chancellor: "You shall do this great charity," and laying hands on his hood he tried to pull off the cape—a new and very good one of scarlet and grey—which the chancellor wore, and which he strove to retain. Then was there great commotion and noise, and the knights and nobles in their train hurried up wondering what might be the cause of so sudden a strife; no one could tell: both were engaged with their hands and more than once seemed likely to fall off their horses. At last the chancellor, long reluctant, allowed the king to win, to pull off his cape and give it to the poor man. Then first the king told the story to his attendants; great was the laughter of all; some offered their capes and cloaks to the chancellor. And the poor old man went off with the chancellor's cape, unexpectedly happy, and rich beyond expectation, and giving thanks to God.

Sometimes the king would come to the chancellor's house, sometimes for fun, sometimes for the sake of seeing whether the talk of his house and his table were true. Sometimes the king rode on horseback into the hall where the chancellor sat at meat; sometimes, bow in hand, returning from hunting or on his way to the chase; sometimes he would drink and depart when he had seen the chancellor. Sometimes jumping over the table he would sit down and eat with him, Never in Christian times were there two men more of one mind or better friends.

Once upon a time the chancellor was seized by great sickness at S. Gervais at Rouen. Two kings came at the same time to see him, the king of the Franks and the king of the English, his own lord. When at length he began to amend and was convalescent he sat one day at the game of chess, wearing a cape with sleeves. There entered to visit him Aschetinus, prior of Leicester, coming from the court of the king, who was then in Gascony, who spoke bluntly to him with the boldness of friendship, saying "How is this that you wear a cape with sleeves? This is the dress rather of those who carry hawks: you are an ecclesiastic, one in person but many in dignity, archdeacon of Canterbury, dean of Hastings, provost of Beverley, canon here and there, proctor of the archbishopric and, as rumour in the court says, you will be archbishop." The chancellor, among other things in answer to that last word, said "I know three poor priests in England any one of whom I would rather see advanced to the archbishopric than myself; for

as for me, if I were appointed—for I know the king so through and through—I should be forced either to lose his favour or to lay aside (which God forbid) the service of God." The which afterwards happened.

The Chancellor's office.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 41.

The chancellor of England has so high a dignity that he is accounted second from the king in the realm; he has the charge of the king's seal and seals his own orders with the obverse thereof; the king's chapel is in his charge and care; he takes into his keeping all vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and baronies that fall into the king's hands; he attends all the king's councils, and may enter even if not summoned; everything is signed by his clerk, who bears the king's seal; and everything ordered by the advice of the chancellor; so that if by God's grace his well-spent life should procure it for him, he shall not die save as archbishop or bishop, if so he please. And thus it is that the chancellorship is not to be bought.

Of his manner of life.

Saga, Rolls Series, trans. E. Magnusson, i., p. 50.

The holy fathers have made plain that a chaste monk is like unto a knight who keepeth his wealth and life in a close stronghold. But he who liveth chastely in the world signifieth a knight who fighteth with sword and shield in open field and receiveth a greater reward the more glorious victory he gaineth;

for that indeed is a more wondrous art to stand on the embers being unburnt than to shun the fire and be unscathed. Both these signs point to that laudable man the blessed Thomas. He was placed by the lord king in the way of such a good hap and fulness of this world's bliss as hath been before told, and yet he wore over his breast nevertheless such a trusty hauberk of virtue through God's abiding with him that he never departed from a life of purity and holy endeavour; for if in the daytime the fulfilment of many duties hindered he would get up anight-tide to worship his Creator. And how he was wont to bring his God the sacrifice of praise and of a pure life appeareth from two tales which now follow concerning this matter.

So Robert writes, that there was a certain person, a nigh kinsman of his, who sought the king's court about the time in which the story goeth. He had on hand certain affairs on the happy issue of which he deemed that much might lie. He setteth his mind, as many a man in England now listed, on first seeing the chancellor Thomas, to expound to him the nature of his affairs, and to pray him for some furtherance thereof. Now by reason of his reaching the town not till the day is far spent, a laudable custom forbiddeth to go before such a mighty man at late eventide, wherefore he betaketh him to his chamber. But in early morn, already when day was abreaking, he bestirreth himself for the carrying out of his errands. Now the way taketh such turn that he must needs go by a certain church, and he seeth lying before the

door a man prostrate in prayer even unto earth. And when as he stands bethinking him of this sight there comes upon him, as ofttimes may happen, some sneeze or a kind of coughing. And forthwith starts he who lay kneeling on the ground and rises straightway up, then lifteth his hands up to God and thus ends his prayer, and thereupon walks away thence to his own chamber. The new-comer was right eager to know who of the townspeople might follow such worthy ways, and therefore he taketh an eye-mark against the dawn both of his growth and the manner of attire he wore, that he might the rather know him if he should happen to see him afterwards. Nor did that matter long await true proof, for no sooner hath he leave to see chancellor Thomas than he well perceiveth that the very growth and raiment which he had noted before belongeth to no man but to him alone; for even now Thomas putteth off his overgarment as though he had just entered the room. This person testified to his kinsman Robert when he came home what virtue and godly fear he had found in the blessed Thomas, straight against the thinking of most people; and hence it came to pass that the prior put this deed into his writings.

Another tale now followeth which pointeth both to prayer and holiness of life.

In a certain thorpe named Stafford there was a certain lady, goodly and of great wealth.* It was

* The original authority for this story is Garnier (p. 12). It is also given by William of Canterbury (i. 6). The lady's name was Avice.

talked of among the household folk of king Henry that on this lady he had set a fond eye aforetime. But now that love is somewhat waning and waxing colder the king cometh the seldomer, and, he having turned away, it so happeneth oftentimes that chancellor Thomas taketh harbour in this same township. And when he happens to be staying there this lady sendeth him many seemly gifts for his table. From this the host, with whom the chancellor was wont to be harboured, thinketh that she is minded by this kindness to win for her a new lover. And such great heed giveth he to this thought that once upon a time, when the chancellor hath taken up his dwelling in his house, he getteth up amidnight, taketh a lantern, and goeth to the chamber which the chancellor had, entereth it, listeneth about, and hearing nought thinketh now that surely the chancellor must have gone away. But the very time he turneth up the light of his lantern and beginneth to spy about it is proven that such is the case not altogether, since before the very bed he seeth a barefooted man, prostrated on the floor, on whom after kneeling and praying sleep had fallen. And soon he perceiveth that here lieth Thomas the chancellor, and it was proven here, in truth, that he was a man of pure life and good manners, whom a misdoubting man thought to be like even unto himself. Blessed is the soul that deceiveth the world yet serveth its Maker.

. . . Unto this lord Thomas added such bounty to needy folk and foreigners that he yielded them in their hardships unstinted comfort in gifts of money,

although it were hidden from the knowledge of the multitude. But to lords and great men he chose to give his gifts openly. For these things, as might be looked for, the poor loved him even as a father, but lords held him in honour as their equal, and revered him as their superior. At this time those only deemed themselves well bestead in England who were partakers of his kindness. For this reason he had the power much to give and many to comfort, that the king made him, for his own living and profit, a grant of a fee, which men nowadays call barony, and is as large a fief as that which belongeth to him who is called a baron of the king's realm. But it is worthy of mention, that for all this kingly favour, and the manifold grants which have been told now awhile, many lords in England bore Thomas a sullen mind, although openly they showed themselves blithe enough; for two things preyed inwardly upon them, firstly, the king's favour towards the chancellor, and secondly, this, that they might not as at this time wreak as much evil against the Church as they had a mind to; and who these folk were became manifest enough when the crash befell whereby the king's friendship brake. . . . Clear-sighted as the blessed Thomas was in all his wisdom, he saw all along how the great folk of England bore him foul thought, a fair mien notwithstanding. Hence it is written that he prayed archbishop Theobald, often times with tears, that he might be taken back into his service, so as to withdraw his neck from under the yoke of the thraldom of standing between the Church and the

king's men. This, however, the archbishop could not grant him, saying that, by the spiritual reward which awaited him, he was the more needed for the Church the heavier the trials were that he must needs endure.

1158.—Becket's embassy to Paris to ask the hand of the French king's daughter in marriage for Henry the king's son.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 29.

On such an ambassage to such a prince who should be sent but the chancellor? He is chosen, he accepts. Therefore the chancellor with an eye to the matter in hand, the dignity of those concerned, and of his own office, and measuring himself for his mighty undertaking as the poet hath it—

Measure the thing you undertake; he dons a bridal garment,
Who is sent forth on ambassage a bridal for to compass,

prepares him to display and lavish the wealth of England's magnificence; so that before all and in all things the person of his liege may be honoured in the envoy, that of the envoy in himself. He had above two hundred on horseback, of his own household, knights, clerks, butlers, serving men, esquires, sons of the nobles trained by him in arms, all in fit order. These and all their following shone in new holiday attire, each according to his rank. For he had four-and-twenty changes of raiment "whose texture mocks the purple dyes of Tyre,"* many garments entirely of silk—almost all to be given away and left over sea—and every sort of material, griese and furs, of

* Horace, *Ep.* xii. 21.

robes also and carpets, such as those with which the chamber and bed of a bishop are wont to be adorned. He had with him hounds, and birds of all kinds, such as kings and nobles keep. He had also in his company eight carriages, each drawn by five horses, in size and strength like destriers, for each one being set apart a strong young man, girt in a new tunic, walking by the carriage; and each carriage had its driver and guard. Two carriages bore nothing but beer, made by a decoction of water from the strength of corn, in iron-hooped barrels—to be given to the Franks who admire that sort of drink, which is wholesome, clear, of the colour of wine, and of a better taste. One carriage was used for the chancellor's chapel furniture, one for his chamber, one his bursary, one his kitchen. Others carried different kinds of meat and drink; some had the hangings, bags with his nightgowns, packs and baggage. He had twelve sumpter-horses, and eight chests containing the chancellor's plate, of gold and silver; vessels, cups, platters, goblets, pitchers, basons, saltcellars, tankards, salver, dishes. Other coffers and packs contained the chancellor's money—coin enough for daily expenses and presents—his clothes, books, and such like. One sumpter-horse going before the others bore the sacred vessels of the chapel, the ornaments and books of the altar. Each of the sumpter-horses had its own groom provided as was meet. Each waggon had a dog chained above or below, great, strong and terrible, which seemed able to subdue a bear or a lion. And on the back of each sumpter-

horse was a tailed monkey, or "the ape that mocked the human face."* At this entry of the French villages and castles first came footboys, "born to eat up the land"†—about two hundred and fifty—going six or ten or even more abreast, singing something in their own tongue, after the fashion of their land. There followed at some distance hounds in couples, and greyhounds in leash, with huntsmen and keepers. Then there rattled over the stones of the streets the iron-bound waggons covered with great hides sewn together. Then at a little distance the sumpter-horses, their grooms riding on them, with their knees on the flanks of the horses. Some of the Franks rushing forth from their houses at this great noise asked who this was, and whose the train? They answered that it was the chancellor of the king of the English going on an embassy to the king of the Franks. Then said the Franks, "Marvellous is the king of the English whose chancellor goeth thus and so grandly." Then the squires carrying the shields of the knights and leading their destriers; then other squires, of fresh youth, and those who carried hawks on their wrist; after them the butlers, and masters, and servants of the chancellor's house; then the knights and clerks, riding all two and two; last, the chancellor and some of his nearest friends.

1159.—His exploits in the war.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 34.

Afterwards, in the war between the king of the Franks and his lord the king of the English in

* Claudian, Eutrop. i. 303.

† Horace, *Ep.* I. ii, 27.

Marche, at the frontier of each of their territories between Gisors and Trie and Courcelles, the chancellor led seven hundred knights of his household, twelve hundred others, mercenaries, and four thousand followers, for forty days. And to each knight every day for the charges of horses and squires were given three shillings; and the knights themselves all fed at the chancellor's table. Himself, though he were clerk, met with horse at charge and lance in rest a valiant Frank knight of that country, Engelram of Trie, spurring against him, whom he unhorsed, and made spoil of his destrier. And the chancellor's knights were ever first in the English king's army, ever dared the most, ever did gloriously, as he taught and led and cheered on to victory.

1162.—The election to the archbishopric.

[On the 18th of April, 1161, Archbishop Theobald died. The see remained vacant for over a year, and it does not appear to have been until the spring of 1162 that the king declared his intention to the chancellor. The king had decided to send him to England to check the incursions of the Welch.]

Herbert of Bosham. Materials, iii., p. 180.

Before he started on his journey he went to salute the king at the castle of Falaise in Normandy. The king having called him aside, said to him privately, "You do not yet fully know the cause of your mission." And he added, "It is only well that you should be archbishop of Canterbury." To whom the chancellor, looking down at the gay dress which he wore, "How religious, how saintly, is the man whom you would appoint to that holy see, and over

so renowned a monastery! I know certainly that if God should so dispose that it happen, you would soon turn away your love, and the favour which is now between us would be turned into the bitterest hatred. I know that you would demand many things—for already you presume much in ecclesiastical matters which I never bear unmoved: and so the envious would take occasion to provoke an endless strife between us."

[The king, unmoved by this, sent orders to England for the election. A similar tale is told of Hildebrand, Bonitho, *Liber ad amicum* (Jaffé, *Monumenta Gregoriana*, p. 657.)]

Herbert of Bosham. As given in the *Quadrilogus*, *Materials*, iv., p, 278.

All suspicion being removed, and all gainsaying laid aside, the king's desire in the matter being subservient to the will of God, whom all things obey, by the common and unanimous consent of the bishops of the province and of the monastic church of Canterbury, Thomas, archdeacon of the same church, was elected archbishop, at London, in the royal and renowned monastery called Westminster. He is elected, I say, having now performed for five years the duties of chancellor, and being of the age of about forty and four years.

[*William of Canterbury*. *Quadrilogus*, as above.]

Nevertheless the bishop of London* alone of the

* Gilbert Foliot, a kinsman of the earls of Hereford, renowned for his learning and ascetic life. He had been prior of Cluny, and afterwards abbat of Gloucester. On Sept. 5, 1148, he was consecrated bishop of Hereford. He was translated to London March 1163.

bishops made opposition. But in so much as he was aided by no support, and appeared to have been seeking his own things, not those which are of Jesus Christ, he deserved to be vanquished by the suffrages of the majority with the same readiness wherewith he dared gainsay them.

[*Herbert*, as above.]

The archbishop elect was therefore presented to the king's son and heir of the realm, Henry, then a boy, whom by the royal favour the chancellor had taken to be as it were his son and ward, and who by his father's order was his representative and gave the royal assent to the Church's election. Freed by royal authority from all the bonds of the court * he was given free to the English Church, and in that freedom he was received by the Church, as the custom is, with hymns and spiritual songs.

On the Saturday after Whit Sunday Thomas was ordained priest by Walter, bishop of Rochester, and on the following day, June 3, 1162, he was consecrated by Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, assisted by thirteen other bishops. A contest had arisen as to the right to consecrate, which was claimed by Roger of York. The right of Roger was admitted, but it was over-ruled as Roger had not yet professed obedience to the see of Canterbury. The Festival of Trinity Sunday was instituted by the new Archbishop, to be observed on the day of his consecration, and the usage was extended to the Universal Church in the fourteenth century.

* This release from obligations to the king was alluded to by the archbishop when cited at Northampton, and is mentioned by John of Salisbury in his letter to Walter de l'Isle (*Materials*, vi. 97). The extent of the release was questioned by the king's party.

1162.—His assumption of the monastic habit.

Edw. Grim. Materials ii. p. 368.

When the monks began to murmur that, contrary to custom, he came to the choir in the garb of a secular, one of his household, reproving him, declared that there had stood before him a person of terrible countenance, who gave command, with threatening words, "Go tell the chancellor (from indignation he used not the name of archbishop) that he change his garb without delay, for if he refuse to do so I will go against him all the days of his life."

It was at Merton that the archbishop assumed a part of the habit of the regulars. There he had been taught as a boy; there he repaired after this warning, and "laid down his costly weeds and silk attire and taketh on a black cappa and white surplice, which goeth with the ordination of a canon regular" (*Saga*, i. 84). It is to be observed that Mr. Magnusson wrongly asserts that S. Thomas was "ordained monk." We have no record of his profession, or the taking of monastic vows. At most he was associated with the order of canons regular. The black cappa, made of a rough material and trimmed with lamb's wool, was closed all round and reached to the feet. Over it was worn a short surplice. This was the ordinary habit of the black canons of the Augustinian Rule, the order to which Merton Abbey belonged. S. Thomas wore this dress to the end of his life. Underneath he wore a hair shirt. When at Pontigny he assumed also the Cistercian cowl.

Of Thomas's Household Rule.

Saga, i., p. 106.*

Anigh to the noon of day the blessed archbishop

* Cf. the description in Herbert of Bosham, iii., p. 225-6, which is less circumstantial.

Thomas goeth into his hall to table, with such a select company about him, that to few lords the like of it ever befell. The tale of them is twenty who sit at the table of his high seat, on the right hand of him, all of whom may in good sooth be called masters in wisdom and all knowledge, right laudable for their manners and holy living, whereof this is the mark that, after the death of the holy Thomas, not one of them was a lesser man in the Church of God than archdeacon or a dean. Some became bishops or archbishops, and one of them was he who afterwards became the very pope Urban the Third.* Such are the men who sit with the worthy Thomas Archbishop at his board, keeping such an honourable seat as was said afore, on his right hand, but to the left of him are monks and regulars. Over this blessed table no sound is heard but that of a holy lesson all the meal through. Therefore the archbishop ordereth a table to be set apart for knights and other courtly persons, that they may have their pleasantries thereat in a lowly moderation. There scarcely ever came to the archbishop's court a man so noble that the aforesaid manner of sitting at table on either side of the archbishop should be departed from. Yet those who came to his court were honoured with costly things, sent to them by himself, the more so the greater their worth was. It

* Humbertus the Lombard, pope Urban III., 1185-1187. Herbert of Bosham in the *Catalogus Eruditorum Thomæ* speaks of him as being known to Becket only during the exile. He was at that time archdeacon of Bourges.

is also easily seen in this story that both honour and long custom bringeth it about that archbishop Thomas has a richly furnished table with fair and varied dishes. Yet, many and luscious though the dishes set before him were, he touched but few and ate of each right little, all with such care of abstemiousness that he stood up from table each time rather underfed than overfilled, whereof the reason of those could judge who sat beside him. The same virtue he exercised in wine and choice drinks so that no tempting of unlawful desire ever gained a victory over him in that matter. But when the tables were removed and grace had been said, the lord archbishop goeth with the learned men into his chamber if it liketh him to have a discourse on holy writ. It might also happen that, at this time, he was well pleased to have a little sleep. Thirdly, this might happen too that, if affairs did allow, he would sit listening to the pleading of law causes, for idleness he escheweth both night and day. But it was likely enough that his nature should bid him to incline in day time to some rest, since at night time hours of sleep were not long because of his service to the poor, his tears and penance, his prayers and studies. But warm as was his love to his Lord and Redeemer, the love to his neighbour was ever blended together with it in his heart, being common to all, yet most chiefly so to the wretched, the wounded and the sick; for on these people he bestowed, for the sake of the name of God, not only food and money, but also such a fatherly

care as is to be read of him that he often sent privily his own men to visit the chamber of the sick, that they might carefully enquire how the dues and provisions which belonged thereto according to rightful ordinances were returned and taken care of. And for the glory of God he visiteth many a time this house of healing * himself that he may know by his own trying how they fare who lie alow there. And this hospital he granted a tithe of all the goods that come into the palace, yea, and in few words it may also be said that all the gifts of God over which he hath power are the very own of all folk. Archbishop Theobald was the most courteous of the men before him, and yet Thomas setteth all works of charity doubly above his example. Now meek as he was towards those of little might, so much as mighty was he and zealous against the ribald; for anyone beset with hardness of heart, who had to stand under visitations, might well have given much that he had avoided the two things together, namely, the omission of his fault and such a chastisement. But those who sought him with meekness and repentance for their trespasses, yea, even if the law had been grievously broken, met no further with stern accusation as if they had been hard of heart, but soon found what a father they had inwardly in him, who was all ablaze with the fire of love, weeping with those who wept, and that too for this reason,

* S. Bartholomew's Hospital at Canterbury, which is still standing. It is now used as an almshouse.

that his blessed compassion could not bear well any suffering.

1163.—The beginning of troubles.

W. FitzStephen. Materials iii., p. 41.

The ancient enemy was angered by so erect a pillar in the Church of the Lord, so bright a candle on the candlestick. The enemy sowed tares. First he took from him the king's goodwill, so that whereas he had made him first chancellor and then archbishop, now he withdrew his favour from him and withstood him in many things. And the king's courtiers poisoning his ears defamed the archbishop and hated him. This is the first cause of the archbishop's trouble. There were added to the king and courtiers in this quarrel many bishops, for fear of losing their land and goods. The archbishop was deprived of their counsel and aid. It added to the indignation of the king and the knighthood of the realm that he endeavoured to recover from earl Roger of Clare the castle and honour of Tunbridge, formerly alienated from the See of Canterbury; because according to law his predecessors and the stewards of the church might care for and increase not minish or alienate her property. To the said earl of Clare well-nigh all the nobles of England were akin, and his sister was more beautiful than any lady in the land, and the king had sometime loved her. Nevertheless the archbishop had aforetime obtained the king's leave to recover the property of the church of Canterbury, by his predecessors evilly alienated or by laymen

usurped. Also the church of Eynsford had the archbishop given to a certain clerk Laurence, for it was his to present to the vacant churches on the estate of his barons and of the monks of Canterbury. The lord of the township, William de Eynsford, objecting, expelled Laurence's people: the archbishop excommunicated him. The king straightway wrote to the archbishop that he must absolve him. The archbishop answered that it did not belong to the king to order him either to absolve or to excommunicate. The king contended that it belonged to his royal dignity that no one who held of him in chief should be excommunicated till he had been consulted.* At length to pacify the king, who already burned with wrath against him and would hold no converse with him save through messengers, the archbishop absolved William. And of him said the king at Windsor: "Now owe we him no grace therefore." Moreover sometime before, that is in the time of Theobald the archbishop, the king had conceived hatred against the clergy of England in general, provoked by the insolence of certain clerks.

[Then follows an account of the complaints from Scarborough in 1158, as to the exactions of archdeacons and rural deans, for which they escaped punishment, refusing the jurisdiction of the royal courts.]

* Eadmer [*Hist. Nov.* i. 6] gives this as one of the customs which William the Conqueror caused to be observed. It was afterwards embodied in the Constitutions of Clarendon, Clause vii. (below p. 55).

1163.—The case of Philip de Brois.

Edw. Grim. Materials ii., p. 374.

A new method of attacking a clerk, Philip of Brois by name, was resorted to by the resuscitation of a charge that had long been forgotten. He had been accused of the murder of a certain knight, but when the case had been heard in the audience of the bishop of Lincoln he was acquitted by ecclesiastical law, and, the matter ended, he was claimed as free by his kinsfolk. Later on, however, one of the king's officers to whom that duty belonged, wishing, from an ancient grudge he bore him, that the clerk should be ruined, brought forward the case again and repeated the charge of murder. But the clerk, being a man of high birth, overwhelmed with grief and indignation, attacked the sheriff with abuse. The sheriff reported this contumelious language to the king, who, glad (as it was thought) to have an occasion of venting his spleen on a clerk, poured upon Philip the wrath that he had conceived. When the question was raised about the clerk in the presence of the archbishop, the king protested that full justice should be done both about the homicide and about the insult, and that the acquittal would not stand. But the archbishop received the clerk into his court under protection of the Church that he might there answer for himself and reply to the charge. Bishops and others of either order were accordingly sent by the king to judge the clerk. He denied the charge of homicide, asserting that he ought not to be compelled to make any further answer to it, and that there was no legal

right to try a case over again, a case which had been ended by the solemn purgation and which the peace he had made with his opponents had buried. "I confess," he said, "that in the bitterness of my heart I have abused the king's officer, but I promise a full amendment for my misdeeds; yet let not the correction exceed the bounds of reason." "And we decree," said they, "that your prebend remain under the king's hand for two years, and your possessions and all your incomings to be distributed at his will and pleasure to the poor." They added that he was to stand naked before the king's official, just as a layman might, and offer him his arms for the injury he had done him and live in subjection to him. The clerk submitted to the judgment, glad to have escaped the sentence of death which the king threatened. The king, on the other hand, wishing to condemn the man to death, contended that an injury had been done to himself and to the prejudice of his court. He exclaimed that the bishops had had respect of the person because of the archbishop, and had not judged according to equity, and he added, "By the eyes of God, you shall swear to me that you judged a just judgment and did not spare the man because he was a clerk."

[This, says Grim, led up immediately to the Council of Westminster.]

1163, July 1.—The Council of Woodstock.

Grim., ii., p. 374.

When the king was tarrying on his manor at Woodstock, with the archbishop and the great men

of the land, among other matters a question was raised concerning a certain custom which obtained in England. Two shillings from each hide were given to the king's servants, who, in the post of sheriffs, guarded the shires. This sum the king wished to have enrolled in the treasury and added to his own revenue. Whom the archbishop resisted to the face, saying that it ought not to be exacted as revenue—"Nor will we," said he, "my lord king, give it as revenue, saving your pleasure; but if the sheriffs, and servants, and ministers of the shires shall serve us fitly, and maintain and defend our dependants, in no way will we be behindhand in contributing to their aid." But the king, taking ill this answer of the archbishop, said "By the eyes of God, it shall be given as revenue, and in the king's scroll shall it be writ; nor is it fit that thou shouldst gainsay, when no man would oppose your men against your will." The archbishop foreseeing and being aware lest by his sufferance a custom should be brought in whereby posterity should be harmed, answered, "By the reverence of the eyes by which you have sworn, my lord king, there shall be given from all my land or from the right of the Church not a penny." The king was silent, repulsed by the bold objection of the archbishop, but his indignation was not set at rest; for silently erewhile his fury from secular matters which seemed to be but little contrary to the archbishop, turned against the clergy, and his rage extended against the ministers of the church whose injuries specially redounded against the archbishop.

[The cause of this quarrel, and its nature, are obscure. It seems that the payment spoken of is the Danegeld. This was originally levied under Ethelred the Unready for a bribe to keep off the Danes. It was probably continued as a necessary means of providing for the defence of the country. It is thus described by bishop Richard FitzNeal, treasurer of Henry II., in his acconnt of the Exchequer System (*Dialogus de Scaccario*, *Select Charters*, p. 203). Before the Norman Conquest the tax was more exactly known as *Heregeld*, the word Danegeld being probably a popular stigma. In 1051 Edward the Confessor (legends say, being terrified by seeing the devil at play with the hoard) ceased to exact it. It was revived by William Conqueror (1083-1084), and at a larger amount. It was retained probably by Rufus, certainly by Henry I. Stephen promised to remit it, but did not keep his promise; and it appears in the Pipe Rolls as an ordinary item of revenue down to 1163. The same tax was afterwards revived in another form; but Becket's action is remarkable as having been the earliest recorded instance of resistance—and that successful—to the royal will in a matter of taxation. It would appear that the sheriffs paid a composition into the exchequer, and that any further sum collected would be understood to be applied to the defence of the shires. It is as such a payment for guard that it appears in Grim, with whom Garnier, William of Canterbury, and Roger of Pontigny agree. It may be presumed that when no repairs or fortifications were needed the balance would remain as the perquisite of the sheriff. This balance the king desired to secure for himself. The archbishop resisted, though whether on behalf of the sheriffs or the people, who would suffer if the tax were more rigidly exacted, does not appear. This explanation is supported by Dr. Stubbs (*Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 462: Preface to vol. ii. of Benedict of Peterborough, p. xcii.), Robertson (*Life of Becket*, p. 74, and appendix, p. 328), and other writers. The Saga, however, gives another account of the quarrel, by which the tax which the archbishop objected to is declared to be one imposed by William Rufus and levied upon the clergy, contrary to an

understanding that all church lands should be free from Danegeld and similar taxes. Mr. Magnusson (pref. to *Thomas Saga*, ii. p. cviii.) supports this view by a quotation from the *Leges Eadwardi Confessoris*, c. xi.. and is followed by Father Morris (*Life of S. Thomas*, ed. 1885, p. xxvi.). It must be remembered that the so-called laws of Eadward cannot certainly be traced back beyond the 13th century; and thus I can see no reason for preferring the Icelandic account to that of four contemporary biographers, which it by no means explains. The archbishop's quarrel with the king raised up many opponents against him in the Church. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, declined on his translation from the See of Hereford to make renewal of his profession of obedience to Canterbury. Roger, archbishop of York, had his cross borne before him in the province of Canterbury, thus claiming an equality with the Primate. Clarembald, appointed by the king abbat of S. Augustine's Canterbury, refused to profess obedience to the archbishop, and required that the customary benediction should be given in his own monastery. These difficulties are alluded to in the following letters.]

1163, Sept.—The archbishop bewails the sufferings of the Church.

Ep. 29. *Materials*, v. p. 48

To his dearest lord and Father Alexander, by the grace of God supreme Pontiff, Thomas, the humble minister of the church of Canterbury, greeting and all obedience in Christ.

The letter of consolation which your paternal kindness addressed to me would have brought great comfort to one less distressed, or were my distresses but single I might found thereon some hope of life. But now since from day to day iniquity waxes strong, wrongs are multiplied—not ours, but Christ's, yea

because Christ's so much the more ours, storms succeeding each other like waves, surely shipwreck is nigh at hand to us, and there is no other resource save to arouse Christ as though He were asleep in the ship, saying, "Lord, save us, we perish." And surely their iniquity has the fitter season for injury since they see the weak state of the Holy Roman Church, for it is plain that that which is poured on the head, be it good or bad, sweet or bitter, runneth down upon the beard and even to the skirts of the clothing. That which Jesus Christ purchased with His blood is torn from Him; against His portion the secular power stretches out its hand. Thus neither the authority of the holy fathers, nor the decrees of the Church, whose very name is hated among us, can avail anything for the protection of the clergy who till now were by special privilege entirely exempt from lay jurisdiction. And since both to tell and to read what we suffer would be long and tedious I have sent to my father Master Henry, a faithful servant both to you and me, in whose mouth we have placed each thing singly to be explained to you. Believe him as though you spoke to me face to face. This nevertheless know, that I should much more gladly visit you in my own than in another person. I speak to you as to father and lord; and what I say I ask to be concealed in strict silence, for nothing is now safe for me, when almost all things that are said either in company or in the ear are repeated to the king. Woe is me who am reserved for these times in which these evils have come to pass. Truly I had fled lest I

should see the patrimony of the Crucified given to desolation, but whither, save to Him who is our Refuge and Strength ?

1163, October.—The efforts of John of Poictiers on behalf of Becket.*

Ep. 39. *Materials*, v. p. 55.

To the venerable lord and most holy father Thomas by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and the spirit of consolation.

Urged by the celebrity of your fame I hastened to the [Papal] Court before I saw your messenger, but before I arrived there already everything was known to all, and the earth was full of the glory of the Lord and every hearer was praising God that one was found who would speak wisdom before princes.

For although your patriarchal See shone forth of old in honourable dignity, its honour by God's grace in you has so greatly increased that what seemed natural to that See in the days of your predecessors now may be trusted to be made perpetual through your acts. And now indeed as much the more gloriously as the princes of times past were less arrogant and your predecessors less hateful to their sovereigns, and especially since then our holy mother

* John des Belles-Mains, treasurer of York, was appointed bishop of Poictiers in 1163. He was a native of Canterbury, and had been trained in archbishop Theobald's household. He eventually became archbishop of Lyons (1181), and died a monk at Clairvaux. John of Salisbury speaks of him before his consecration as a man of singular eloquence and a graceful speaker in three languages.

the Roman church had not suffered division. And He who has given you courage to begin and constancy to persevere will in your perseverance in the good work give success, either that which we desire or success yet more fruitful. For as to human assistance you must expect nothing from the Curia in anything that might offend the king. I myself, as well as your messenger, have been labouring many days in furtherance of your petitions yet have scarce obtained an answer to one, and that in hesitating terms and not in writing, but by word of mouth. Nevertheless, Henry of Pisa still asserts that he is striving to extort the "profession" from the bishop of London. I fear he is too sanguine, for I have already used every argument that seemed likely to be of use. First, that his translation appeared to have released him from all obligation, and he could not become bishop of his present See until he had ceased to be bishop of his former one. And if he ceased to be bishop he ceased to be bound to the See of Canterbury. Thus, if he had been translated into another province would he not have made profession to his new metropolitan? Whence it is manifest that a translation freed him from the profession which he had formerly made. Nor ever did I refrain from showing how expedient it was for the Roman Church to require the profession since in the recent council* he behaved as if he believed himself to be independent. Further, I urged the common custom, that if

* This letter appears to have been written shortly after the Council of Westminster, Oct. 1163.

anyone receives a new fief from the same lord he is obliged again to do homage as if for a new cause. To all this it was answered that a profession once made so bound the person that no change in his position could free him unless he be passed under the jurisdiction of another, nor could it be demanded by you unless it happened to be the custom of your Church that profession was made only to the person of the individual archbishop who consecrated and not to himself and his successor canonically appointed. But if this were so then indeed it might lawfully be demanded of him, but not on account of his circumstances but of yours.

As to the benediction of the abbat of S. Augustine's you may look in vain for any consolation. Wherefore, whatsoever you do, beloved father and lord, you must look solely to the will of God and to the church whose liberties He has given to you to preserve; and from Him alone look for consolation and reward of your labour. I, too, as I am informed by many, may expect not only a similar but a harder lot. May I be a sharer in your exile or anticipate you. Nor will it be inglorious, that we, who through the vanities and delights of this world have together enjoyed much prosperity, should now, if it be needful, not dread for the sake of a heavenly reward together to suffer adversity. Our friend, Henry of Pisa, endeavours to procure a refuge for me, and declares, through the Abbat of L' Aûmone, his desire to do the same for you. I am setting out for Pontigny that I may commend to the prayers of that house my purpose

and yours. For it is meet that we implore the divine aid when human help is wanting. I have caused you to be commended by the Pope to the prayers of Clairvaux. Farewell.

1164, January.—Alexander III. to Roger Archbishop of York.

Materials v., p. 68.

Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Roger archbishop of York, legate of the apostolic see, and to his beloved sons the canons of York, health and apostolic benediction.

It befits your wisdom so to leave intact the rights of another as you desire your own to be preserved whole and entire to yourself. Wherefore by the apostolic authority we forbid that you, archbishop, in anywise cause your cross to be borne in the province of the church of Canterbury; nor by any pretence of appeal attempt it on any occasion, for this would bring prejudice and hurt to your justice. But if you will not for a time abstain, both you and your successors shall abstain for ever.

Oct. 1163.—Council of Westminster.

Herbert of Bosham, as condensed in the *Quadrilogus*. *Materials* iv., 299.

The king when he explained the cause of the summons straightway demanded that clerks seized or convicted of great crimes should be deprived of the guardianship of the church and handed over to his officers, declaring that they would be the more prompt to evil unless after spiritual punishment they were

subject to corporal penalty, and that those who were not restrained by the memory of their orders from such enormities would care little for the loss of orders; and that the more worthy they were than other persons of the privilege of clergy so much the worse was their guilt; and hence they should be constrained by greater punishments whenever they were discovered in crime. Accordingly the king, advised by certain who made a boast of their learning in either law,* straitly demanded that such persons should be deprived of their orders and handed over to the civil courts, the which not only human law but also the canonical authority of the Divine law sanctioned. Whence also concerning such it is found in the canons, "let him be given over to the court." Whence those who were prepared with learning on the king's behalf alleged, in nowise should be sent to exile or a monastery, but rather, according to the canons, to the court, and this "to be handed over to the court" [they explained to mean] to be given over to the secular power to be punished.

To the king and his party bringing forward these things, the archbishop, having had counsel with the bishops of his province and with prelates of learning, when he had answered at length and clearly on behalf of ecclesiastical liberty according to the canonical rule of the ancient fathers, at the end of his speech with all devotion besought the royal clemency not to bring into his realm a new discipline contrary to the rules of the holy fathers, under a new king Christ,

* *I.e.*, Civil and Canon Law.

and under a new law of Christ, by a new and strange kind of Lord. And this he besought humbly and oft for himself and for the security of the realm, again and again declaring that he neither ought to nor could endure it.

The king nothing moved by this, but rather the more excited as he saw the archbishop and the bishops opposing him and, as he reckoned, so unanimous and constant, demanded whether they would observe his royal custom.

Whereon the archbishop, after counsel had with his brethren, said that he and his brethren would observe them saving their order. And the bishops each made the same answer when questioned singly by the king. But one, Hilary of Chichester, considering rather the king's anger than the opinion of the others, without consulting the archbishop and the bishops changed the expression, saying that he would observe the royal customs *in good faith*; and indeed for a good purpose, as I think, that he might soothe the mind of the king. But the king, in no way appeased, spurned his goodwill with contumely; and turning to the archbishop and bishops, having heard the same speech from all, he said that they had formed a host against him and poison lay in that saying, "*salvo ordine*," and that it was full of guile. Wherefore he demanded that absolutely and without qualification they should promise to obey the customs. The archbishop to this answered that they had sworn fealty to him in life and limb and earthly honour, *salvo ordine suo*; and that under earthly honour were compre-

hended the royal customs and that they would not be bound in another form to observe them, but only in that to which they had sworn. When the day was now far advanced the king, angrily and without saluting the prelates, departed hastily from the hall, in ire and much indignation.

[William of Canterbury then tells how, by the guile of Arnulf bishop of Lisieux, who was anxious to regain favour with the king, the English bishops were won over to promise to obey the king's will. No reason, save their fears, is given by contemporary writers for their change of front.]

Meeting at Northampton between king and archbishop.

Roger of Pontigny. Materials iv., p. 27.

The king, for the present frustrated of his intent, not long after when he was at Northampton, called the archbishop to him, wishing to try his constancy if perchance he might turn him and bend him to his will. When the archbishop drew nigh and his approach was made known to the king, he, (it is not known with what design) sent certain to meet him and say, "The king is lodged in the town with many men and you are come with a great multitude; nor is there room to hold you both, wherefore the king commands to await him here. Here he will come to speak with you." And when the archbishop had turned aside into a field, straightway without delay came the king; to whom running the archbishop sought to prevent him with due salutation of reverence. But when because of the neighing and kicking of their lusty steeds on which they rode they could

not come anigh each other, they changed their horses and withdrew together apart. Thus began the king: —"Have I not raised you from an humble and poor man to the height of honour and dignity? It seemed but a small thing to me unless I made you also father of the kingdom, and even preferred you to myself. How is it that so many benefits, so many proofs of my love towards with you, known to all, have so soon passed from your mind, that you are now not only ungrateful but oppose me in everything?"

The archbishop answered: "Far be it from me, my lord. I am not unmindful of the favours which not you alone but God Who dispenseth all things deigned to confer on me through you; wherefore far be it from me to be ingrate enough to resist your will in anything, so long as it accords with the will of God. Your Grace knows how faithful I have been to you, from whom I look but for a worldly reward. How much more then must I do faithful and true service to Almighty God from Whom I have received temporal and look for spiritual benefits. You indeed are my lord, but He is both your Lord and mine, to forego Whose will that I might obey yours would be expedient neither for you nor me. For at His awful judgment we shall both be judged as servants of one Lord, where neither of us can answer for the other, and each one, all disguise failing, will receive according to his deeds. We must obey our temporal lords, but not against God, as saith S. Peter, "We must obey God rather than men."* To this replied the king, "I don't want you

* Acts v. 29.

to preach a sermon; are you not the son of one of my villeins?" "In truth," said the archbishop, "I am not 'sprung from royal race.'* Neither was S. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, on whom the Lord deigned to confer the keys of heaven and the headship of the whole church." "True," said the king, "but he died for his Lord." The venerable prelate replied, "And I will die for my Lord when the time is come." Then said the king, "You trust too much to the ladder you have mounted by." And the archbishop answered, "I trust and lean upon God, for cursed is the man that putteth his hope in man.† Nevertheless whatever you may say and may answer, as of old so now, I am ready for your honour and good pleasure, saving my order. But on these things which concern your honour and the salvation of your soul you should rather have consulted one whom you have ever found faithful and useful in your counsel rather than those who, under pretence of your honour, have kindled this flame of envy, and strive to take vengeance on me, who never hurt them. You will not deny that I was ever your faithful servant though below the sacred order; how much more then ought you to believe me faithful in all things when raised to the office of the priesthood?" When the archbishop had spoken many wholesome words full of love and faith, the king still vehemently insisted that he should utterly abandon the expression "salvo ordine," the which since he could in no wise obtain, and the archbishop

* "Atavis edite regibus." Horace, *Od.* i. 1.

† Jeremiah xvii. 5.

persisting inflexibly in his decision, they departed.

[After this Philip, abbat of L'Aûmone (a Cistercian abbey in silvâ Leoniâ, now le forêt de Marché Noir, diocese of Blois), brought letters from the Pope and cardinals urging the archbishop to submit, and assuring him that only a formal assent was required. Following this advice the archbishop went to the king and agreed to omit the saving clause. The king then summoned the council to meet at Clarendon, where a public assent should be given. "As Becket's compliance," says Canon Robertson (*Life of Becket*, p. 96), "had been obtained by the assurance that the king had no thought of pressing the matter beyond a mere formal snbmission,—nay, that he had sworn this to certain cardinals,—the demand that his acknowledgment should be publicly made took him wholly by surprise."]

Jan. 1164.—Council of Clarendon.

[The archbishops and bishops gave a general promise to observe the customs. The king ordered that a formal document should be drawn up embodying the customs of his grandfather, Henry I. It appears that the task was undertaken by Richard de Lucy, the justiciar, and Jocelin de Balliol. The following are the articles. Those which the Pope afterwards formally condemned are marked ¶.]

The Constitutions of Clarendon.

Materials, vol. v., p. 71.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation the 1164th, and the 4th of Pope Alexander, of Henry II., the illustrious king of the English, the 10th, in the presence of the said king, was made record or recognition of every part of the customs and liberties and dignities of his ancestors, in particular of king Henry, his grandfather, and of other things which ought to be observed and maintained in the realm. And

because of the dissensions and discords which arose between the clergy and the justices of the lord king and the barons of the realm concerning the customs and dignities, the recognition was made in the presence of the archbishop and bishops and clergy and earls and nobles of the realm. And these customs, by the recognition of the archbishops and bishops and earls and barons and the men of nobility and age, were agreed to by Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Roger archbishop of York, Gilbert bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, Nigel bishop of Ely, William bishop of Norwich, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Hilary bishop of Chichester, Jocelin bishop of Salisbury, Richard bishop of Chester, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, Robert bishop of Hereford, David bishop of S. David's, and Roger bishop of Worcester, and in the word of truth they firmly promised that they should be held and observed, to the king and his heirs, in good faith and without evil intent,—in the presence of Robert earl of Leicester, Reginald earl of Cornwall, Conan earl of Bretagne, John earl of Eu, Roger earl of Clare, earl Geoffrey of Mandeville, Hugh earl of Chester, William earl of Arundel, earl Patrick of Salisbury, William earl of Ferrars, Richard de Lucy, Reginald of S. Valery, Roger Bigot, Reginald of Warenne, Richer of Laigle, William of Braos, Richard of Camville, Nigel of Mowbray, Simon of Beauchamp, Humfrey of Bohun, Matthew of Hereford, Walter of Medwin [Methuen], Manasses Biset butler, William Malet, William of Curcy, Robert of

Dunstanville, Jocelin of Balliol, William of Lanval, William of Cheyney, Geoffrey of Vere, William of Hastings, Hugh of Morville, Alan of Neville, Simon Fitz-Peter, William Malduit chamberlain, John Malduit, John Marshal, Peter de Mare, and many other nobles of the realm as well clerks as lay. Of the customs and dignities of the realm, according to recognition, a certain part is contained as this writing.* Of the which the heads are as follows.

¶I.—Concerning the advowson and presentation of churches if a dispute shall arise between laymen, or between laymen and clerks, or between clerks, it shall be tried and concluded in the king's court.

[Probably the Curia Regis, the highest tribunal of the country, at once the judicial session of the king's chief advisers and the great council of the baronage in its judicial aspect, is here referred to. This appears now to be a permanent court, and it probably already had a staff of judges, as was certainly the case from 1178. The Church claimed the suits as appertaining to the care of souls; the State as questions of the right to property. Undoubtedly in the last reign they had frequently been heard in ecclesiastical courts, for very many letters of John of Salisbury, as secretary to Archbishop Theobald, refer to appeals to the Pope on rights of presentation.

II.—Churches in the fee of the lord king may not be granted in perpetuity without his assent and consent.

[To this there was no objection on the part of the Church. The Churches are those on the king's estates, and the object of the

* From this and the statement at the beginning of the preamble it would appear that a sort of general recognition of the common law was made, of which only the part relating to the Church was recorded and received.

order is to preserve the feudal services. Later the kings would allow no episcopal jurisdiction over their free chapelries, but issued writs of prohibition from the king's bench.]

¶III.—Clerks charged and accused concerning any matter, having been summoned by the king's justiciar shall come into his court to answer there concerning this matter if it shall seem meet to the king's court that it be answered there, and in the ecclesiastical court if it seem meet that it be answered there, so that the king's justiciar shall send into the court of Holy Church to see in what manner the suit be therein tried, And if the clerk shall be convicted or shall confess the Church ought no longer to shield him.

[Accused clerks are to answer before the king's justiciar for a crime at common law, in Church courts for a crime in ecclesiastical law. Privilege of clergy is to be no protection.]

¶IV.—Archbishops, bishops, and beneficed clerks may not leave the kingdom without the licence of the lord king. If they go abroad, if the lord king pleases, they shall give security that neither in going nor in tarrying nor in returning will they procure ill or hurt to king or kingdom.

[The right of closing the ports was an ancient prerogative. Its exercise in this clause taken in connection with clause 8 is evidently designed to check, if not altogether to abolish, appeals to Rome. It was thus interpreted by the archbishop and strongly opposed. Robert of Gloucester, writing a century later, explains its meaning to be that the king should be "in the pope's stead."]

V.—Excommunicate persons ought not to give security for the future, nor to take oath, but only sufficient security and pledge to abide the judgment of the Church that they may be absolved.

[In this clause there is a difficulty in the interpretation of the expression *Vadium ad-remanens* (cf. the practice of Roman Law; *Institutes*, ed. Moyle, vol. i., p. 670. Poste's *Gaius*, lib. iv., sect. 185). It may mean "henceforeward give security," or "give security for future good behaviour." In the former case the pledge is merely to remain in the same parish. It refers to the custom of exacting an oath, on absolution, to obey the Church's decisions. The question became important during the last days of Becket's life and at the time of the murder, when he refused to absolve the bishops unless they took the customary oath of submission to the pope's judgment.]

VI.—Laymen ought not to be accused save by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in the presence of the bishop, so that [nevertheless] the archdeacon lose not his right nor aught that he should have therein. And if the criminals be such that no one will or dare accuse them, the sheriff being required by the bishop shall make to swear twelve legal men of the neighbourhood or township, in presence of the bishop, that therein they will manifest the truth according to their conscience.

[Legal or law-worthy men=those regarded by the law as capable of bearing witness and taking an oath. Up to the Norman Conquest all freemen were "lawful" or "legal" men. The twelve men are a jury of presentment or accusation—a custom found in early English law (cf. Ethelred, III., cap. 3). The custom was developed or revived by Henry II., and is substantially the same as the modern grand jury.]

¶VII.—No one who holds of the king in chief nor any of his *ministri* shall be excommunicated, nor shall the lands of any of them be put under interdict unless the lord king, if he be in the country, or his justiciar, if he be without the realm, be first informed,

that he may do right by him: and so that what pertains to the king's courts shall be there concluded, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical court shall be sent thereto that it may be tried there.

[This is an extension of the custom of William I, referred to above, p. 34. Here the prohibition is extended to include an interdict on the land. By excommunication of their attendants without notice kings might be indirectly struck at, for by contact with an excommunicate they would become excommunicate also.]

¶VIII.—Concerning appeals when they shall arise, they ought to go from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop. And if the archbishop shall fail in showing justice, resort should be had lastly to the king, so that by his order the question be concluded in the archbishop's court: so that it should go no further without the king's assent.

[This shows the existence of a regular system of appeals in ecclesiastical suits, though no regular system of appeals in lay courts existed at this time. The clause acted as a prohibition of appeals to Rome, and may be regarded as the definite declaration of a position never wholly abandoned, and finally assumed at the Reformation. It will be observed that the final decision is not left to the king, but he remits the cause to archbishop's court for reconsideration.]

IX.—If an action occur between a clerk and a layman, or between a layman and a clerk, concerning any holding which the clerk wishes to attach to free alms,* and the layman to lay fief, it shall be concluded by the recognition of twelve legal men under view of the king's chief justiciar, whether the holding belong to ecclesiastical or lay tenure, in the presence

* Ecclesiastical tenure.

of the said justiciar. And if it be decided by recognition that it belongs to ecclesiastical tenure the suit shall take place in the ecclesiastical court; but if to lay tenure (unless the suitors both hold of the same bishop or baron) it shall take place in the king's court: so that on account of the recognition made he shall not lose seisin who was seised of it* until it be decided by plea.

[In the case referred to in this clause two questions are spoken of as requiring decision: first, whether a particular holding is held on ecclesiastical or lay tenure, and second, which of the two claimants, a clerk and a layman, has the right to the possession of it. It is ordered that the first question should be always decided in the king's court, and the second in church or king's court according to the decision of the first. To this the ecclesiastical lawyers, always anxious to secure the trial of suits concerning property, made strong opposition. The clause shows the use of juries for the decision of fact in civil suits, a custom derived from the Norman inquest on oath from persons acquainted with facts (cf. Domesday). From the Norman Conquest such suits had been decided by wager of battle; but Henry II., during the chancellorship of Becket, introduced, by his Grand Assize, the custom as here mentioned. Cf. Glanvill, *De legibus Angliæ*, lib. ii.]

X.—If anyone belonging to a city or castle or town or manor of the king, being cited by the archdeacon or bishop for any crime for which he is obliged to answer, will not, at their citations, give satisfaction, it shall be lawful to put him under interdict, but not to excommunicate him until the chief officer of the king in his township be informed, in order that he

* *I.e.*, the possessor shall not lose possession until the suit be ended.

may compel him to give satisfaction. And if the king's officer shall fail therein he shall be at the king's mercy, and then shall the bishop be able to coerce the accused by ecclesiastical law.

XI.—Archbishops, bishops, and all beneficed clergy of the realm who hold of the king in chief have their possessions of the lord king as a barony, and answer therefor to the justices and ministers of the king, and follow and do all royal rights and customs, and like other barons ought to be present at the judgments of the king's court, with the barons, till there shall come into judgment matter concerning mutilation or death.

[To this the Church made no objection. Ecclesiastics who hold of the king in chief are to hold according to ordinary feudal law. The clause refers to property not status, and has no bearing on the title by which the bishops sat in the Great Council. By the law of the Church ecclesiastics were bound to retire when a "question of blood" came on.]

XII.—When an archbishopric shall be vacant, or a bishopric, or abbacy, or priory, or the king's demesne, it shall be in his hand and he take all revenues and outgoings as his own. And when counsel shall be taken of the Church the lord king shall command the greater person of the Church, and the election shall be in the chapel of the lord king by assent of the lord king and counsel of those ecclesiastics whom he shall have called for the purpose. And there shall the elect do homage and fealty to the lord king as his liege lord, in his life and limbs and earthly honour, saving his order, before he be consecrated.

[This, says Bishop Stubbs (*Select Charters*, p. 136), is "in conformity with the usage of Henry I. and with the practice of the West Saxon kings of England. But the right of election had long been claimed for the clergy of the Church whose vacancy was to be supplied. As early as the 8th century the letters of Alcuin give proof that such liberty was possessed by the clergy of York, and the subsequent restriction was probably owing to the example set by the emperors in France and Germany. Generally the Anglo-Saxon bishops were appointed by the king and witan, but there are traces, from the date of Theodore to the Conquest, of free elections occasionally allowed and constantly claimed. It was the peace of Anselm and Henry I. that gave the king an absolute and legal influence in this matter." FitzStephen records that during Becket's chancellorship sees were not kept vacant and elections were canonical. *Materials*, iii., 23, translated above, p. 15.]

XIII.—If any one of the great men of the realm shall have failed to show justice, either concerning himself or his men, to archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, the lord king ought to bring him to justice. And if perchance a clerk shall have failed in his duty to the lord king the archbishops and bishops and archdeacons ought to bring him to justice so that he may make satisfaction to the king.

¶XIV.—Pleas concerning debts which are due with or without pledging of faith are in the king's justice.

[To this the Church objected. Ecclesiastical lawyers treated debts as involving an oath or pledging of credit, and thus under the moral jurisdiction of the Church.]

XV.—Sons of villeins ought not to be ordained without the assent of the lord on whose land they were born.

[To this the Pope assented. The order, aimed at preventing the loss of villein services to the lords, is in principle as old as

the so-called Constitutions of the Apostles. An indignant protest against this is made by Garnier [p. 89]. "God," he says, has called us all to his service. Much more worth is the villein's son who is honourable than a son of a noble who is false."]

Record was made of the aforesaid royal custom and dignities by the aforesaid archbishops and bishops, and earls and barons, and men of nobility and age at Clarendon the fourth day before the Purification of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, the lord Henry being present with his father the lord king. But there are also other many and great customs and dignities of holy mother Church, and the lord king and the barons of the realm which are not contained in this writing. The which shall be preserved to holy Church and to the lord king and his heirs and the barons of the realm, and shall be inviolably observed for ever.

How the archbishop repented of his assent.

Herbert of Bosham, (Quadrilogus) Materials, iv. 305.

When the customs had been written down and put in the form of a document, the king demanded from the archbishop and his suffragans, that for greater safety and security they should append their seals. But the archbishop, though very sad, disguised his feeling, unwilling at this time to vex the king. And he cautiously did not utterly refuse, but said that it should be put off for the present. Even if they were prepared to do it, he added, that nevertheless a little delay would be fitting on account of the gravity of the business, since according to wisdom nothing

weighty should be done without counsel ; and then, after deliberation, the bishops might curse if they be required to do it elsewhere. Nevertheless, he received the document containing the said customs, with forethought indeed and prudence, that he might have as it were the pleadings of his suit with him.

Alan of Tewkesbury [*Quadrilogus*], *Materials*, iv., 305.

And as he went thence there arose by the way a murmuring among his household ; some asserting that so it ought to have been done, on account of the need of the times ; others indignant that ecclesiastical liberty should perish at the will of one man. Among whom one stood forth and said, "The public power disturbs all things. Iniquity rages against Christ Himself. The synagogue of Satan profanes the sanctuary of God. Princes sate and gathered themselves together against the Lord's anointed. No one is safe who loveth equity. In the world's judgment they alone are wise and to be reverenced who obey the prince to the utmost. This tempest has shaken even the pillars of the Church, and when the shepherd fleeth the sheep lie scattered before the wolf. . . . Henceforth what will be the place of innocence ; who will stand up or who will triumph in the battle when the chief is vanquished ?" And thus murmured he who bore the cross before the archbishop.*

* Alexander-Llewelyn is thus described by Herbert of Bosham (*Materials* iii. p 528) : "Alexander called in his own tongue Luelin by surname and nation the Welchman, learned in letters, pleasant in speech, and in pleasant speech profuse ; whose merit

The rest were silent in perplexity. And he taking up his parable, added more boldly, "What virtue has he retained who has betrayed his conscience and his fame?" "To what purpose is this, my son?" said the archbishop. "To thee," he answered, "it applies, who to-day hast altogether betrayed both conscience and fame, and having left to posterity an example hateful to God and contrary to justice, thou hast stretched out thine hands to observe impious customs and hast joined with wicked ministers of Satan to the destruction of ecclesiastical liberty." Then the archbishop groaned and said with sighs, "I repent, and, trembling at my error, I judge myself henceforth unworthy to approach Him in the priesthood, Whose church I have thus basely sold. I will sit silent in grief until the Day Star shall visit me from afar, so that I may be worthy to be absolved by God and my lord the pope." Brought to repentance because he had rashly consented to what was not lawful, he might excuse his fault through the persuasion of great men, although he might justify his cause from the cause of the clergy, yet from himself, just as if he had done it for his own sake, he exacted penance, afflicting himself with fasting and

lay not all in his mouth, for his hand was as ready as his tongue. With our father and for our father, bidden and unbidden, absent and present, frequently in great perils, he laboured with caution, resolution and constancy; and, what is very precious in that nation, as he worked so was he ever faithful to his lord." Shakespere's Fluellen his namesake and countryman has many of the virtues described.

rough garb, and suspending himself from the office of the altar.

Feb. 27, 1164.—Alexander III. to Archbishop Thomas, after granting the legation to Roger of York.

Materials, v., p. 87.

Let not your mind be dejected or brought to despair by the grant of the legation, since before we were brought to it or gave any consent, the messengers, on behalf of the illustrious king, promised and offered, if we would receive it, to make oath that never without our knowledge and will should the letter be given to the archbishop of York. For we asked that you should undoubtingly believe, and without any scruple of doubtfulness hold that never did it come into our mind or ever (God willing) shall come that we should wish your church to be subject in ecclesiastical matters to any person, or to obey any but only the Roman pontiff. And therefore we admonish and command you that if the king should restore the letter [to the archbishop]—which we not do believe that he will do without our knowledge—you straightway signify the same to us by a faithful messenger and by letter so that we may declare your person and the church and city committed to your care, by apostolic authority, entirely exempted from every jurisdiction of the legation.

1164, April.—Alexander III. to Becket, on hearing of the Council of Clarendon.

Materials, v., p. 88.

Alexander, Pope, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, health and apostolic benediction.

You know, my brother, that it has come to our ears that you, because of a certain error, have proposed to cease from the celebration of masses and to abstain from the consecration of the Body and Blood of the Lord. How grave a matter this be, especially in so great a person, and how great a scandal may arise therefrom, you should with anxious thought consider. Your prudence ought diligently to observe that there is great difference between things committed on deliberation and full willingly and those done out of ignorance or necessity. For it is known that we should proceed in one way in matters done willingly, in another in those done (as it is said) ignorantly or by compulsion of necessity. And the former should be treated in one way, the latter in another, and so measured by discreet and prudent men as we are taught in Holy Scripture. For your intention gives the meaning to your deed: for as it is written in another place, "Inasmuch as voluntary evil is sin, unless it be voluntary it is not sin." And Almighty God watches not the deed but considers rather the intention and judges the will. If, therefore, you remember that you have done anything where your own conscience ought to reproach you, whatsoever it be, we advise you by penance to

confess it to a priest that is accounted discreet and prudent. The which done, may the merciful Lord, Who looketh much more to the heart than to the acts, forgive with compassion; and we, trusting in the merits of His blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, have absolved you from what is done and remit it to you by apostolic authority, advising and commanding you that hereafter you do not on this account abstain from the celebration of masses.

Given at Sens, April 1.

Thomas's activity.

After the council of Clarendon the archbishop made two attempts to leave the kingdom, but failed. He visited the king at Woodstock and was received without open insult. He then appears to have applied himself to the government of his see as if nothing had happened. Herbert of Bosham thus speaks of his activity.

Quadrilogus: Materials, iv. p. 309.

The archbishop, supported by apostolic authority and exhortation, being fervent in spirit soon shook himself out* and with the prophet's mattock he plucked up, pulled down, scattered, and rooted out, whatsoever he found planted amiss in the garden of the Lord. His hand rested not, his eye spared not; whatsoever was naughty, whatsoever rough, whatsoever crooked, he not only assailed with the prophet's mattock, but with the axe of the Gospel he cut it down. Of the royal and ecclesiastical customs, he observed such as were good: but those which had been brought in for the dishonour of the clergy, he

* An allusion to Psalm cxxvi. 4, Vulgate.

pruned away as bastard slips, that they might not strike their roots deep.

1164, June 21.—John of Poictiers to the Archbishop.

[A letter written evidently with some expectation of the Archbishop's flight. A short extract only is given.]

Materials, v., p. 112.

Although we have not yet opposed with the perseverance which we certainly are bound (to show), and have not yet resisted unto blood, although we have kept secret many divisions, on account of the difficulty of the time and of our Mother, the holy Roman Church, by God's grace no one is able to say that we have yet yielded to their threats, or consented to their counsels of impiety, but that we may, when opportunity offers, be strong enough to cause those things to be made void which were ill done, and ought to be invalid. For I give thanks continually to God that (as I hold for certain from the faithful report of others and now at length on the faith of your letter) you have not absolutely promised, as their author boasts, to observe those detestable and profane constitutions which in our days have been promulgated under pretence of a revival (of old usage), nor have, as others, confirmed them with your signature.

As to the granting of the legation for England there is nothing that you ought to fear, if any trust is to be placed in the Papal words. For he has even atoned with severe penance for the concession which he made to the archbishop of York.

Tuesday, Oct. 6, 1164.—The Council of Northampton.

W. FitzStephen: Materials, iii., p. 49.

On the day appointed we came to the Council. The archbishop did not see the king that day, because he was hawking along every river and stream as he came, and entered Northampton late. On the next morning, when mass had been said, and the hours, the archbishop went to the court, which was in the royal castle. He was admitted to the ante-chamber and sat awaiting the king, who was then hearing mass, at whose coming he rose with reverence, and showed a firm and calm face ready for the favour of the kiss according to the English custom, if the king should offer it; but he was not admitted to the kiss. The archbishop began by speaking of William de Curci, who had occupied one of his lodgings, and he asked the king that he would order it to be given up. He assented. His second saying was that he had come according to the summons in the case of John the marshal. This man demanded from the archbishop some land which belonged to the archiepiscopal township of Pageham. And when certain days were fixed for the hearing of the suit he had come into the archbishop's court with a writ of the king; where when he had no success, being supported by no right, he declared, as the law then allowed, a defect in the jurisdiction of the archbishop's court, but took oath on a book of tropes,* which he took from under

* A tropary was a book of the versicles sung before the introit at Mass.

his cloak, though the judges of the archbishop's court declared that he ought not to have brought a book with him for the purpose, nor used such a book. The man returned to the king and procured letters of citation to the archbishop to answer him in the king's court, the day fixed being the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. But on that day the archbishop had not come, but had sent to the king four knights, with letters from himself and the sheriff of Kent, attesting the wrong done by John and the invalidity of his appeal. But to what profit? The king being angry that the archbishop had not come in person in answer to the citation, treated the messengers ill, attacking them with anger and threats for bringing a false and useless excuse in answer to a summons to the Curia Regis, and hardly let them depart when they had given sureties. And at the instance of the said John he fixed another day for the cause (that is, the first day of the council), sending out his letter to the sheriff of Kent to cite the archbishop. For he would not then, or for a long time before, write to him, because he would not give the usual salutation. Nor had the archbishop any other summons—solemn and to him first of all men, as was the ancient custom*—to the council.

The archbishop, I say, said that he had come at the king's command in the case of John; to which the

* The greater prelates and nobles were summoned by special writ, the lesser tenants in chief through the sheriff, a custom perhaps as old as the Norman Conquest, but not made law until Magna Charta.

king said that John was on his service in London but would come on the morrow, and then he himself would take cognisance of their case. For this John was with the treasurers and the other receivers of revenue and public money in London at the quadrangular table, which is commonly called the Exchequer from its chequered squares, but rather is it the table of the king's silver, where also pleas of the crown are tried. That day nothing more was done, but the king ordered the archbishop to return to his lodging and return on the morrow.

On the second day when the bishops, earls, and barons of England, as well as many of Normandy—the bishop of Rochester, who had not yet come, and one other, being absent—were assembled, the archbishop was accused of contempt of the majesty of the Crown*; because although summoned by the king at the suit of John he had neither come nor given a valid excuse. The archbishop's reply was not listened to; it declared the wrongs done by John, the jurisdiction of his own court over the matter, and its integrity. The king demanded judgment: the defence of the archbishop was rejected. It seemed to all that, considering the reverence due to the king and by the obligation of the oath of liege homage, which the archbishop had taken, and from the fealty and observance of his earthly honour which he had sworn, he was in no way excused; because when summoned by the king he had neither come nor pleaded infirmity

* *Lése majesté.*

or business, or necessary work of his ecclesiastical office which could not be postponed. They declared that he should be condemned in all his money and moveables at the king's mercy.*

[There was then a discussion between bishops and barons, as to whom the duty of announcing the sentence should be given. Finally the king ordered Henry, bishop of Winchester, to declare it, which he did with great reluctance.]

Herbert of Bosham (Quadrilogus) : Materials, iv., p. 312.

When the archbishop heard that he had been thus judged—"If I were silent," he said, "at such a sentence future ages would not be silent. For this is a new form of sentence, perchance according to the new rules promulgated at Clarendon. For such a thing has never been heard as that an archbishop of Canterbury should be tried in the court of the king of the English for such a cause, on account of the dignity of the Church, and of the authority of his person, as also because he is the spiritual father of the king and of all who are in the realm, wherefore he ought to be reverenced by all." Also still more did he complain of his brothers the bishops than of the sentence of the lay judges, declaring that this was a new form and a new order of judgment—that an archbishop should be judged by his suffragans, a father by his sons.

William FitzStephen : Materials, iii., p. 53.

But the archbishop submitted by the counsel of the bishops, because it was not lawful to gainsay the

* *Ad misericordiam regis ;* this denotes liability to an arbitrary fine.

sentence and declaration of the Curia Regis of England; and bail being given, as the custom is, to satisfy judgment; and all the bishops being his sureties, with the exception of Gilbert of London, who refused to be security for him; which singularity made him conspicuous. Afterwards on the same day the archbishop was sued for three hundred pounds received as Warden of Eye and Berkhampstead.

The archbishop having previously refused to answer the suit, as one that had not been cited therein, said, not as though in court, that he had sent this money and much more to repair the Tower of London and the aforesaid castles, as it was easy to see. The king said that it had not been done by his authority, and demanded that judgment should be given. Whereupon the archbishop agreed to restore the money for the king's sake, as he was utterly unwilling that a matter of money should cause any contention between them, and appointed certain laymen as sureties—the earl of Gloucester with William of Eynesford and a third person, being his own men.

On the third day the archbishop was interrogated by messengers [from the king] on the subject of a loan of 500 marks in connection with the war of Toulouse, and another sum of 500 borrowed from a Jew on the king's security. He was next arraigned by action of wardship for all the proceeds of the archbishopric while vacant, and of other bishoprics and abbacies which had been vacant during his chancellorship: and he was ordered to give an account of all these

to the king. The archbishop replied that for such a demand he was not summoned or prepared; moreover if he were to be arraigned at the proper time and place he would be glad to render legal satisfaction to his lord the king. Therewith upon this the king demanded the safeguard of sureties. He replied that on this matter he ought to have the advice of his suffragans and his clergy. The king kept to his point. He went away and from that day the barons and the knights no longer came to see him at his house, for they understood the mind of the king.

Sat., Oct. 10.—On the fourth day came all the ecclesiastics to the lord archbishop's lodging. He took counsel on the matter with the bishops by themselves. By the advice of Henry, bishop of Winchester, who had ordained him and who promised substantial aid, an endeavour was made to discover if the king could be pacified with money; and the archbishop offered him two thousand marks. The king refused. There were certain of the clergy who told the archbishop that on account of his office he was bound to protect the Church, to give heed to his own person and dignity, and to honour the king in all things saving the reverence due to God and the Church's honour; and that there was nothing opposed to him which he need fear, since no crime or baseness could be laid to his charge. He had been given to the Church of Canterbury free from the chancellorship and every secular strife of the king—as every vacant abbey would receive as abbat no

monk of another house unless he was dismissed from all obligation to his own abbat. But in others who were nearer to the secret intents of the king there was a far different mind, and they said, "Our lord king is grievously angered against him. From certain signs we interpret his desire to be that the archbishop should in everything, and by resigning the archbishopric, throw himself utterly on the king's mercy." And among them Hilary of Chichester, who was strongly on the king's side, said to him, "Would that you could cease to be archbishop and remain Thomas." And elsewhere he said concerning him, "Every plant which My Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up,"* as though he meant that the king's will had procured his election. Of whom the archbishop afterwards in his exile said to one who was with him, "And he among my brethren obtained the place of Judas." And afterwards before the archbishop's recall and pacification, as though struck by God, he died. This same bishop of Chichester, speaking for himself and certain accomplices, said, "From the companionship and friendly life in which you lived with him as chancellor you must know the king better than we do. There is no doubt that he will be more easily convinced by you whether you contend with him or submit to him. In the chancery, both in peace and in war you did your duty honourably and laudably, and though not unenvied you now praise those who then envied you. Who could be your surety for so

* Matthew xv. 13.

great a reckoning, for such an uncertain sum? The king is reported to have said that both of you could not remain in England together, as king and archbishop. It were safer to resign everything at his mercy, lest perchance (which God forbid) he detain you, and without suretics, accused of embezzlement —on account of his money received when you were chancellor and receiver of revenue—or should lay his hand on you: whence to the Church would accrue great grief and to the king sore shame." And another said, "Far be it from him that he should consult his own safety and dishonour the Church at Canterbury, which chose him for her own. Not so did any of his predecessors, though they in their days suffered persecution.

And so different men gave different advice.

Sunday, Oct. 11.—The fifth day, which was Sunday, was entirely employed in consultations: scarce could one breathe at the time of refection.

Monday, Oct. 12.—On the sixth day a sudden weakness seized him and he could not go to the Court. His reins trembled with cold and pain, and it was necessary to heat pillows and apply them to his side. When he heard thereof the king sent all his earls and very many barons to demand an answer, now that he had taken counsel, and demanding if he could offer security for the revenues of vacant churches received during his chancellorship and would stand to judgment in his Court thereon. The archbishop answered through the bishops that if his weakness allowed he would come to the Court on the morrow and do what he ought.

Tuesday, Oct. 13.—On the morrow he said mass in the morning at an altar of S. Stephen, the first martyr—"For the princes sat."*

Straightway spies of the king told him of the singing of this mass, maliciously explaining that the archbishop had celebrated that mass for himself, like another Stephen, against the king and his wicked persecutors.

Afterwards he went to the Court. On the way he said to Alexander, his cross-bearer, who preceded him, "I had done better had I come in my vestments." For he had proposed to go with bare feet, vested, and bearing his cross, into the king's presence to beseech him for the peace of the Church. But his clerks turned him from his intention, and did not think that he would carry his cross. Having entered the hall of the castle, when he had dismounted from his horse, and took the cross which Alexander, the Welchman, had borne before him on the way, there met him at the gate of the hall the bishop of London, to whom Hugh of Nunant, archdeacon of Lisieux, who had come with the archbishop and was of his household, said: "Lord bishop of London, do you suffer him to carry his cross?" The bishop answered: "Goodman, he always was a fool, and always will be." All made way for him. He entered

* The archbishop celebrated what was called the mass of S. Stephen, and caused the introit "Princes sat and spake against me" to be sung. He wore the pallium, as though it were a high festival. Garnier says he was told that this mass would keep him safe, and makes Foliot accuse him to the Pope of celebrating it "for sorcery."

the council chamber and took his accustomed seat, the bishops by him, London nearest. Those who were present were all amazed, and the eyes of all were turned upon him. The bishop of London recommended him to give his cross to one of his clerks, and said that he looked as though he were prepared to disturb the whole realm. "You carry," said the bishop of London, "the cross in your hands. If only the king should take his sword, behold! a king bravely adorned and an archbishop in like sort." Said the archbishop: "If it were possible it should be mine to carry it always in my own hands; but now I know what I do, for it is to preserve the peace of God for my own person and the Church of the English. Speak as you will. If you were here in my place you would feel otherwise. But if my lord the king should, as you say, now take the sword, that surely would not be a sign of peace." Perchance the archbishop remembered in how great a strait he had been at Clarendon, when, with tears, the king's envoys had come to him.

Then all the bishops were called to the king and remained within for some time, and with them was Roger, archbishop of York, who had come last to the Court that he might be more conspicuous and might not seem to be of the king's counsel; he had his own cross carried before him, [though it was] outside his province, as though dart threatening dart.* He had been forbidden by the lord pope, in letters despatched to him, to have his cross borne before

* Lucan, i. 7.

him in the province of Canterbury; but when he had received the prohibition he interposed an appeal on plea of false allegations of the archbishop of Canterbury, and thereby considered himself safe. No wonder, if grief and groaning and contrition of heart beset the archbishop; for he had heard that on that day either he should be made a prisoner by some sort of sentence, or if he should escape that he should be slain on his way out, as though without the king's knowledge by a plot of wicked men against him. Meanwhile as they sat silent Herbert, his master in the Holy Scripture, said privately to the archbishop—"My lord, if they lay impious hands upon you, you may straightway lay on them the sentence of excommunication, so that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord." To whom William FitzStephen, who was sitting at the archbishop's feet, said in a little louder voice, so that the archbishop might hear—"Be it far from him: not so did God's holy apostles and martyrs when they were seized: rather, if this should happen, should he pray for them and forgive them, and in his patience possess his own soul. For if it should happen to him to suffer for the cause of justice and the liberty of the Church, his soul would be in rest and his memory blessed. If he should put forth a sentence against them, it would seem to all men that for anger and impatience he had done what he could to avenge himself. And without doubt he would act contrary to canons: as wrote the blessed Gregory to Januarius the archbishop: "Thou showest thyself to meditate in no wise on heavenly, but to have thy

conversation in things of earth when thou usest the malediction of anathema to avenge an injury of thine own, which is forbidden by the sacred ordinances."* John Planeta when he heard this sought to restrain his tears. Likewise Ralf de Diceto, archdeacon of London,† wept much there that day. The archbishop hearing these things pondered them in his heart. After a little while, the same William FitzStephen, desiring to speak to the archbishop but forbidden by one of the king's marshals, who stood by with his rod, and said that no one should speak to him—after a short space, looking on the archbishop by raising his eyes and moving his lips he made a sign to him that he should look upon the Cross as his example, and on the image of the Crucified, and should pray. The archbishop understood the sign and did so, taking comfort from God. After many years, when the archbishop was an exile at S. Benedict's on the Loire, he met the said William then going to the pope, and reminded him of this among other memories of his sorrows.

But, O Christian king, what doest thou? By reason of barony and holding in your lay court do you, a son, judge your father, a subject your archbishop, a sheep your shepherd, when in a lay court not the meanest clerk is bound to answer. You say, not so; but as king I judge a baron. But it is a greater thing that you are a Christian, that you are God's

* Canon Robertson gives references, Greg. *Ep.* ii. 49, and Gratian, ii. causa xxiii. qu. 4, c. 27.

† The historian.

sheep, that you are God's son by adoption than that you are king. And in him it is greater that he is archbishop, that he is vicar of Jesus Christ, than that he is your baron.

[FitzStephen then declares that the archbishop was not bound by reason of his property to stand to judgment in the king's court, since he was given free to the Church; and an "archbishop is subject to the judgment of the Pope alone." He then gives the argument of Robert of Melun, bishop of Hereford, that one who suffered in the cause of ecclesiastical liberty would be a martyr, since neither S. John Baptist nor the Maccabees died for the faith, and S. Anselm had truly shown that S. Alphege, who died rather than his flock should suffer exaction, was a martyr.]

Then the bishops, as they talked within with the king, told him when they had come to the archbishop that day they had been reprimanded because they had with the barons dealt with him in hostile manner and had judged him with unjust severity and in unheard-of fashion, since for a single absence he should not have been judged as contumacious, nor should they have condemned him at the king's mercy in penalty of all his moveables. For in this sort should the Church of Canterbury be destroyed, if the king should unmercifully be hardened against him, and a like hurtful sentence in a like case might fall upon the bishops and barons themselves. But (he said) that it was customary in each suit that a certain fixed sum of money should be paid by those condemned to a pecuniary penalty at the king's mercy. In London it was fixed at 100 shillings. In Kent, which being nearer the sea has to keep off pirates from the

English coast and lays claim to the first blow in war against foreign foes, since the burden is greater, greater is the freedom, and there 40 shillings are fixed for those in such sort condemned. And he, having his house and see in Kent, ought to have been judged and fined by the law of Kent. And the bishops also said that on that day, within ten days of the sentence given, he had appealed against them to the Pope, and that he had forbidden them by authority of the lord Pope to judge him in future on any secular charge. Then the king was wrath, and sent to him his earls and barons many to ask if he had indeed made this appeal and prohibition—since he was his liege man and was bound to him both by the common oath and by the special stipulation at Clarendon in word of truth that he would preserve the royal dignities in good faith and without guile, and lawfully. Among the which was one that the bishops should take part in all his trials, save only in sentence of blood. To ask him also if he would give pledges and render account of his chancellorship and stand therein to the judgment of the king's court. Whereat he, gazing upon the image of the Crucified, firm in mind and in countenance, and remaining seated that he might preserve the dignity of archbishop, made speech after this manner, clearly and smoothly, and halted not in one word.

"Men and brethren,—Such and barons of my lord king, I am indeed bound to the king our liege lord by homage, fealty, and oath, but more especially hath the priestly oath justice and equity as its fellows.

In honour and fealty to the king am I bound in subjection, both devoted and due, for God's sake, to pay obedience in all things, saving my obedience to God and ecclesiastical dignity and the archiepiscopal character, declining this suit since I had summons neither to render accounts nor for any other cause save only for the cause of John; neither am I bound answer or to hear sentence in the cause of another. I confess and remember that I received many charges and dignities from my lord king, in the which served I faithfully both in this land and beyond sea, and also having spent all my own revenues in his service with joy, I became bound, on his behalf, debtor for much money. And when, by divine permission and the favour of my lord king, I was elected archbishop and should be consecrated, I was dismissed exempt by the king before my consecration, and given free to the Church of Canterbury, quit and loosed from every secular claim of the king, although now, in anger, he disavows it, which many of you well know, and all the ecclesiastics of the realm. And you who know the worth of this I pray, beseech, and conjure that you make it plain to the king, against whom it were not safe, even if it were allowed, to produce witnesses; nor, indeed, is there need, for I will not litigate. After my consecration I studied to support the honour and responsibility which I had assumed with all my strength, and to be of service to the Church of God over which I was placed, wherein it is not given me to proceed, and, owing to the blasts of adversity, I cannot be useful. I

impute it not to my lord king nor to any other, but chiefly to my own sins. God is able to give increase of grace to whom and when He will.

I cannot give sureties for rendering an account. I have already bound all the bishops and my friends who could help; neither ought I to be compelled thereto, for it has not been so adjudged. Nor am I in court concerning the account, for I was not summoned for that cause, but was cited on another suit, that of John the marshal. As to my prohibition and appeal of the bishops to-day I remember indeed that I said to my brethren the bishops that they had condemned me for a single absence, and no contumacy, with more severity than justice, and contrary to custom and to precedent. Wherefore I have appealed them, and forbidden that, while this appeal is pending, they should again judge me on any secular complaint of the time before I was archbishop; and I still appeal, and I place my person and the Church of Canterbury under the protection of God and the lord Pope." He ended; and some of the barons returned in silence to the king, pondering on his words.

[W. FitzStephen then states that others spoke loudly, to alarm the archbishop, of the vengeance of past kings on ecclesiastics. "King William, who subdued England, knew how to tame his clerks." Odo of Bayeux and Stigand felt his hand; and Geoffrey of Anjou, the king's father, had fearfully punished Arnulf of Seez and many of his clergy.]

The king when he received the answer of the archbishop was in with the bishops ordering and conjuring them by their homage and fealty due and sworn to

him that they would give sentence concerning the archbishop together with the barons. They began to excuse themselves on account of the archbishop's prohibition. The king was not satisfied, asserting that his simple prohibition could not bind contrary to what had been decreed and sworn at Clarendon. They urged on the other hand that the archbishop might lay a heavy hand on them if they did not obey his appeal and prohibition; and besought that they might for the good of the king and kingdom agree to the prohibition. When at length the king was persuaded, the bishops returned to the archbishop. Robert of Lincoln was weeping and others could scarce restrain their tears. Then the bishop of Chichester spoke thus: "Lord archbishop, saving your grace, we have whereof we may greatly complain of you: greatly have you hurt us your bishops: you have shut us up in a trap by this prohibition, as though you had put us betwixt hammer and anvil; for if we do not obey we are ensnared in the bonds of disobedience, if we obey in those of the law and of the king's anger. For recently when we were assembled with you at Clarendon we were required of the king to observe his royal dignities; and lest perchance we should be in doubt he showed to us in writing the securities of which he spoke. At length we gave assent and promised to observe them; you in the first place and we your suffragans afterwards by your command. When beyond this the king required an oath of us and the impression of our seals, we said that our priestly oath to observe his dignities in

good faith without guile and lawfully, ought to be enough. The king was persuaded and agreed. To this you now compel us to go contrary; forbidding us—as he demands—to take part in the trial. From this grievance and lest you should add anything further to our hurts, we appeal to the lord pope, and for the present obey your prohibition."

The archbishop answered: "What you say I hear, and if God will I will meet your appeal. But at Clarendon nothing was yielded by me or by you through me, except 'saving the honour of the Church.' As you yourselves say we retained there these three conclusions, *and in good faith, without guile, and lawfully*, whereby the dignities are saved to our churches since we have them by papal law.* For what is contrary to the faith we owe to the Church and the laws of God cannot be observed 'in good faith and lawfully'; nor can the dignity of a king consist in destroying the liberty of the Church which he has sworn to defend. Moreover these same articles which you call the royal dignities the lord king has sent to the Pope to be confirmed, and they have been sent back rather condemned than approved. He has given us an example for our learning, that, we should also do likewise, being ready with the Roman Church to receive what he receives and reject what he rejects. And further, if we fell at Clarendon (for the flesh is weak) we ought to resume our courage and strive in the strength of the Holy Spirit against the old enemy. If under covenant on the word of

* E jure pontificio, *i.e* Decretals.

truth we there yielded or swore what was unjust you know that by no law are we bound to what is unlawful."

Then the bishops returned to the king, and being excused by him for judging the archbishop, they sat down apart from the barons; but none the less did the king demand sentence from the earls and barons. There were called up also certain sheriffs and barons of the second rank, men of age, to take part in the judgment. After a little delay the barons returned to the archbishop. Robert, earl of Leicester, who in age and dignity stood chief, endeavoured to make certain others to pronounce sentence, but when they refused began to speak of the business at Clarendon in order, and said to the archbishop that he must hear the sentence. But the archbishop would hear no more, and said: "What is this that you would do? Have you come to judge me? Then ought you not. Judgment is a sentence given after trial. For no suit was I summoned hither save only at the suit of John, who has not met me in the suit. With respect to this you cannot give sentence. I am your father; you are nobles of the palace, lay powers, secular persons. I will not hear your sentence." The nobles withdrew. After a short space the archbishop arose, and bearing his cross approached the door, which had all day been very strictly secured, but opened to him as though of itself. A slanderer following him called out as he went forth that he was a perjurer, another that he fled like a traitor and bore the king's sentence with

him. In the hall, which was full of servants, he stumbled over a bundle of faggots but did not fall. He came to the gate, where his horses were. Mounting his horse he took with him Master Herbert, who could not obtain his own so quickly on account of the crowd, [and rode to] the monastery of S. Andrew. O how great was the martyrdom in spirit which he bore that day, but he returned the happier from the presence of the council, since he was deemed worthy there to suffer shame for the Name of Jesus.

[This account differs in certain points from that given by other biographers. William of Canterbury (*Materials*, i., p. 39) mentions Ranulf de Broc and earl Hamelin, illegitimate brother of the king, as those who called after the archbishop. William also states that Becket replied angrily, calling Hamelin "varlet and bastard," and reminding Ranulf that one of his kinsmen had been hanged. Garnier, however, states that "the holy man spoke not a word"; and Grim, that "he answered no man anything." Herbert (*Materials*, iii., p. 310) says: "He turned a stern countenance on those who were reproaching him, and answered that if his priesthood did not prevent him he would defend himself against them in arms from their charges of perjury and treason. And so we departed from the council: the disciple who bears witness of these things saw them and now writes this. He was at that moment the only follower the archbishop had, as he bore his cross from the inner room, till we reached the hall." Roger of Pontigny gives the archbishop's reply as "If I were a knight mine own hands should prove thee false."

On his way back to the monastery Herbert of Bosham (*Materials*, iii., 310) states that he could scarce control his horse and carry his cross for the multitude that thronged him and pressed for his blessing. He called the crowd into the refectory and sate cheerfully at the table for some time. A passage was

read at the meal describing a persecuted bishop as quoting the text "when they persecute you in one city flee ye to another." His eyes met those of Herbert of Bosham; and thus the thought of flight seemed to be suggested. That night he fled: he stayed at Lincoln, at a house of the Sempringham brotherhood at Haverlot (Haverholme Priory, Lincs.), at Chicksand, at Eastry, one of his own manors, and other places, and finally on All Souls' Day he sailed from Sandwich, arriving at the Cistercian monastery of Clair-Marais, near S. Omer, about Nov. 4.

Meanwhile the king sent an embassy to the Pope, consisting of the bishops who had appealed, Roger archbishop of York, Gilbert bishop of London, Hilary of Chichester, Roger of Worcester, Bartholomew of Exeter, and also Richard of Ilchester and John of Oxford, and the earl of Arundel with other laymen. They crossed on the same day as Becket, Nov. 2, and were at S. Omer on the 6th, on which day the archbishop also passed through the same town on his way to the monastery of S. Bertin. They bore letters to the king of France and the count of Flanders.]

Oct., 1164.—Henry writes to the French king on the Archbishop's flight.

Materials, v., p. 134.

To his lord and friend Louis, the illustrious king of the Franks, Henry king of the English and duke of the Normans and Aquitani and count of the Angevins, health and love.

Know ye that Thomas, who was archbishop of Canterbury, was publicly judged in my Court by full council of the barons of my realm as to be a wicked and perjured traitor against me, and under the manifest name of a traitor has wrongfully departed, as my messenger will more fully tell you. Wherefore I pray you that you do not permit a man infamous for such great crimes and treasons, nor his men, to be

in your realm; and let not this great enemy of mine, if so please you, receive any counsel or aid from you or yours, for to your enemies in my realm I would not give any from myself or from my land, nor would allow any to be given. Rather, if it please you, effectually help me to avenge my dishonour on my great enemy and aid me to seek mine honour, as you would wish me, if need were, to do to you.

Witness Robert of Leicester, at Northampton.

[In another letter Henry asks Louis to send S. Thomas back to England, or, at least, not to receive him in his realm].

Oct. 1164.—The case for the king written to the Pope.

Materials, v., p. 136.

The Church of Canterbury is wretchedly minished in spiritual and in temporal things—as a ship at sea without its steersman is tossed and driven of the winds—while her pastor is, by royal authority, forbidden to remain outside the boundaries of his own nation; he who to his own peril and that of his church, and ours also, exposes us with himself to sharpness of pains and labours, not considering how it is expedient to flatter rather than to disparage authority. Who, though we with all all our hearts had been partakers of his labours, proved ungrateful and did not cease to persecute us though we were in the same condemnation. For a certain contest was raised between him and the most noble king of the English. By mutual agreement a day was fixed whereon by the mediation of justice their contest

might be concluded. On the same day that the archbishop, bishops, and other prelates of the Church were called together by the king's writ that the greater the assembly at the council the more thorough should be the exposure of guile and malice. On the appointed day the disturber of the realm and church presented himself before the king; by no means confident in his virtues he armed himself with the Lord's cross, as if entering the presence of a tyrant. Yet was the king's majesty not therefore offended, but committed the judging of his case to the bishops, that so he might be freed from all suspicion. It remained that the bishops should conclude the cause by a sentence whereby the enemies might be reconciled and their cause of dissension buried. But he broke in and forbade that sentence on him should be pronounced before the king, and thus the mind of the king was more grievously incensed. And so great was the king's rage and sorrow that he who was the cause of it ought to have borne the brunt of any revengeful measure that the king might like to have employed, and he should have been ashamed of avoiding a penalty that he deserved who was not afraid of offending his prince, especially at a time when the Church was suffering persecution, against the advantage of the Church, and whose offence only strengthened the hammer of persecution. It were better for him to put a bridle on his pleasure lest when he presumptuously strives to attain to the summit of all things he should as a fit reward for his presumption be thrust down to a lower place. And if the power of

the Church do not move him, the advancement in honour and riches which he owed to the king should recall him from opposing his sovereign. But he was entirely hostile, and objected that for him to stand to judgment in the king's court was a diminution of the rights of the Apostolic see. As though he knew not that in that trial there might be something slightly derogatory to the ecclesiastical dignity, yet it should be passed over for a time so that peace might be restored to the Church. But it was necessary that the humility of the children should temper the pride of the father, lest he should avenge the hatred of the father on the children. It follows therefore, most holy fathers, from what has been said, that the accusation of our adversary should be null and void, since he put it forth without any reason at all, with malignant hate. And since the care of all the churches is known to hang upon you, it is necessary that you should consider the condition of the Church of Canterbury with earnest care lest, through the errors of its pastor, that Church should suffer shipwreck.

Incidents of the Archbishop's wanderings.

Roger of Pontigny : Materials, iv., p. 56.

Necessity obliged him to go afoot, and as he was unaccustomed to this weary toiling he often tottered and fell upon the slippery and sandy shore. The companions of his journey seeing him wearied with this unwonted labour, for by many falls he had torn and wounded his hands, could scarce restrain their

tears. Towards the close of the day they saw a boy to whom they ran and besought him to go and hire something to ride. He ran to the nearest village, but made so long delay that they feared he might betray them. At length he returned leading an ass without a saddle, on whose neck, instead of bridle, was a rope made of straw. But since necessity may not choose, and does not what she wills, they threw a cloak over the ass and made the blessed man sit thereon; and thus for two miles rode he on so sorry a steed. But thinking that it were both easier and more respectable if he went on foot, he again began to walk with his companions. And when he entered a certain village a woman seeing them wondered and diligently watched the venerable man, and discerning something especially noble in his face, seeing his fatigue and willing to show them kindness, ran hastily into her house to seek a stick that he might lean upon it. Snatching up a spit, dirty with smoke and soot and greasy with the fat of fish which had hung on it, she offered it to him. And he, not scorning her kindness, gave thanks as though for a great gift, and took what she offered. When they had gone a little further there stood a knight at the door of his house holding a hawk on his wrist. Who seeing four men pass wearing the religious habit and diligently observing them, said to those who stood by: "One of those is either the archbishop of Canterbury or he is very like him." To whom answered brother Scailman,* "Did'st

* One of the Gilbertine brethren accompanying Becket.

ever see the archbishop of Canterbury travelling in this fashion ?"

[Alan of Tewkesbury says the archbishop had looked, as of old, with delight on the hawk; and perchance the fright would atone for the vanity. At an inn the landlord discovered him by his white and slender hands and by his kindly manner in distributing portions of his food to the children.]

Interview with the Justiciar.

Roger of Pontigny: Materials, iv., p. 57.

[While he was at Clairmarais he was joined by several of his clerks and servants, who brought some silver vessels and money.]

In the meantime Richard de Luci went to the count of Flanders on an embassy from the king of the English. Hearing that the archbishop tarried at Clairmarais (for already report of him was spread abroad everywhere) he went to him and urged him strongly, but in vain, to return with him to England to the king. Understanding from the answers of the blessed man that his endeavours were vain he began to threaten him, saying that for the future he would be his foe. Then the holy man said, "You are my man, and ought not to say such things to me." "I give you back my homage," he answered. "You never borrowed it from me," the archbishop replied.

[In Nov., 1164, the archbishop addressed a letter to the Pope putting his case fully before him, with the arguments he had used at Northampton. *Materials*, v., p. 138.]

Interview of the king's envoys with Louis VII.

Herbert of Bosham: Materials, iii., p. 332.

On the day after their coming to S. Omer they travelled on for three or four days and found Louis,

then king of the Franks, of pious memory, at a royal castle called Compiègne. Having saluted the king they presented him the letters of the king of England; the form of which was like unto that of the letters addressed to the count of Flanders—that is to say, that Thomas, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, had fled from his realm like a traitor, wherefore he prayed him as his lord that he would not receive him into his land. When the king heard the beginning of the letter, "Thomas, formerly archbishop," straightway a great zeal seized him as a very devoted son of the Church, and he was much moved at that saying; for an haughty word begets wrong, and according to the saying of the wise man "He who controls his words the same is learned and prudent." Then the king asked again and again who had deposed him, and added: "Of a surety as the king of the English is so am I also a king, but I have not the power to depose the least of the clerks in my realm." And then those who were sent were not able to answer the king, nor could they obtain an answer to their request according to their wish.

Audience of Herbert of Bosham with Louis VII.

(As above).

But the disciple who wrote these things and another of the archbishop's company, wary and learned, by the counsel and command of the archbishop, followed the [king's] envoys daily without their knowledge, so that they were always a day's journey before us. And this, indeed, was so done of

counsel and diligently that we might more carefully and surely search out their words and their endeavours. And when we had come to the Christian king of the Franks, from whom the envoys had departed the day before, as soon as we could have access to him we saluted him with devotion and humility in the name of the archbishop, whom from the time of his chancellorship he had thought highly of for his greatness, his fidelity, and his energy. And because we were previously unknown to him he asked us oft, after his manner, were we of the archbishop's household and family; the which when he knew he admitted us to the kiss and graciously heard us. And when we had, according to the command of our lord the archbishop, laid open our history and labours, and perils, the king's compassion was vehemently excited, and he deigned to tell us how and in what form the king had written to him against the archbishop, and how he had answered him. And he added, "Your lord the king of England ought, before he treated so hardly and so harshly such a friend and a person so distinguished as the archbishop, to have remembered the versicle 'Be ye angry and sin not.' And my companion answered humourously, "My lord, perchance he would have remembered that versicle if he had heard it as often as we do in the canonical hours," and the king smiled. And on the morrow before we departed, having taken counsel with his men whom he had with him he promised peace and security to the archbishop in answer to his petition made by

us, and added, indeed, that it was an ancient glory* of the crown of France to defend and protect exiles, and especially ecclesiastics from all persecution.

Sens, c. Nov. 25.—The Pope receives Becket's Envoys.

Herb. Bosham : Materials, iii., p. 334.

We came to Sens, where the king's envoys had arrived the day before. On the same day at even we had access to the lord Pope, and saluted him as father and lord in the name of the archbishop with such devotion and humility as was fitting, saying that we were but two who had escaped from the zeal of the house of Rechab, and had come to the feet of his holiness that we might tell that his son Joseph was yet alive but ruled no longer in the land of Egypt, but rather was oppressed by the Egyptians and almost destroyed. He listened with paternal compassion as we told of his son the archbishop's hardships, dangers and griefs, perils in that fight with beasts at Northampton, perils among false brethren, perils in flight, perils in the way, perils in the sea and even in the harbour, his labour, want and distress, and his change of garment and name to avoid the snares of his enemies. And when he heard these things the father of all fathers was moved with compassion towards his son, and could not restrain his paternal love, but wept and said to us,

* The word used is *dignitas*, with a reference perhaps to the *dignitates* or prerogatives of the king of England which had brought about the quarrel.

"Your lord yet lives in the flesh, as ye say; yet while still living in the flesh he can claim the privilege of martyrdom." And because it was now very late and we were weary with our journey he dismissed us quickly to our lodging with the Apostolic benediction.

The Pope receives the King's Envoys.

Herbert : Materials, iii., p. 335, and *Alan of Tewkesbury*, iv., p. 337.

And on the morrow the lord Pope entering the consistory with the venerable brethren the cardinals, nearly all of whom then present in the curia accompanied him, heard the envoys, who when they had courteously saluted the lord Pope in the name of the king explained the cause of their coming. And the envoys of the archbishop were present that they might see the end. The king's envoys arose therefore on the other part and the chief of them, and their standard-bearer, the bishop of London began after this manner: "Father," he said, "to you the Catholic Church looks with care and anxiety that those who are wise should be cherished by your wisdom for an example of conduct, and that those who are foolish may be rebuked and corrected by Apostolic authority that they may learn wisdom. But your Apostolic wisdom will never account him wise who trusts in his own wisdom and endeavours to disturb the concord of his brethren, the peace of the Church, and the devotion of a king. There has of late arisen a dissension in England between the

king and the priesthood on a slight and unimportant occasion, which might easily have been ended if a discreet moderation had been shown. But my lord of Canterbury, following his own individual judgment and not our advice, has pushed the matter to extremes, not considering the malice of the times or what harm might arise from this attack, and thus has entangled himself and his brethren. And if we had given our consent to his proposals matters would have become worse. But because we would not be led by him, as indeed we ought not, he has tried to throw the blame of his own rashness on the king, on us, and on all the kingdom. Wherefore to throw infamy upon us his brethren he has fled, though no violence has been used or even a threat uttered against him—as it is written, 'The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.' At this the Pope said, "Spare, brother." And the bishop replied, "My lord, I will spare him." But the Pope answered, "I say not, brother, that you should spare him, but yourself." At this apostolic rebuke the mind of the bishop was struck with foolishness by the Lord, so that he could say no more. Then the eloquent Hilary, bishop of Chichester, took up the argument, trusting rather in his own eloquence than in justice and truth, as afterwards appeared. "Father," he said, "and lord, it belongs to your beatitude ever to bring back to a state of peace and concord what has been wrongfully done to the harm of the world, lest the immoderate presumption of one man should cause the destruction of many and a schism in the Catholic

Church. To this my lord of Canterbury paid little heed when he left the mature counsel of others and took counsel only of himself, to bring trouble upon himself and his followers, on the king and kingdom, on the people and clergy. And thus it was not fitting that a man in such authority should act—nor ought he." [Thus, says Alan, he *grammatised*, using the word *oportuebat*, and further he used the impersonal verb as a personal one]. And when they heard this master of grammar thus leap from *port* to *port* they laughed one and all. And one called out: "Ill have you at length got into *port*." Whereat the Lord made the bishop so foolish that he became mute and silent. But the archbishop of York, seeing the downfall of those who had gone before, took care to moderate the vehemence of his anger. "Father," he said, "to no one can the character and motives of the archbishop of Canterbury be better known than to myself. For I have known the bent of his mind from the first: that he cannot easily be turned from an opinion which he has once formed. It is therefore easier to believe that this obstinacy proceeds, as of old, from the vanity of his mind. And I see no other means of correcting him but that your discretion should lay a heavy hand on him. I think I have said enough to one of understanding." The bishop of Exeter followed: "Father," he said, "it is not meet for me to say much. This cause can never be terminated in the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury. We, therefore, ask for legates who may hear the cause between the king and archbishop

and decide it." And then he held his peace; neither after him would any of the bishops add more. And seeing this the earl of Arundel—for he was standing in his order among the multitude of knights—asked andience. And when there was silence, "My lord," he said, "we unlearned men know nothing whatever of what the bishops have said. It is therefore our duty to say as well as we can why we have been sent. It was not that we should contend nor insult any one, especially in the presence of so great a man, to whose will and authority the whole world rightfully bows; but we came without doubt for this purpose: that in your presence and in that of the whole Roman Church we should lay before you the devotion which our lord king has ever borne and still bears towards you. By whom, I say, [is this done]? By the greatest and noblest of his subjects in all his lands—that is by archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons. Greater than these he cannot find in all his dominion, and if he had he would have sent them to testify his reverence to you and the holy Roman Church. To this we may add that yourself, my father, shortly after your promotion experienced the fidelity and devotion of the king, in the way in which he placed himself and all that he had entirely at your service; and for certain there is not within the unity of the Catholic Church, over which you rule in Christ, one more faithful, as we think, or more devoted towards God, or more anxious for the preservation of peace. Nevertheless is my lord archbishop of Canterbury none the less perfect

in his own rank and order, prudent and discreet in the things which concern him; though, as it seems to some, a little too sharp. And unless there were this dissension between the king and the archbishop the kingdom and priesthood would rejoice together in peace and concord under a good prince and a good pastor. This therefore is our prayer, that your grace will watch carefully to remove this dissension and to restore peace and love." Thus elegantly spoke the earl, but in his own tongue, so that his modest discreetness was commended by all. To this the Pope replied, "We know, son earl, and remember with how great devotion the king of England conferred many and rich benefits upon us, which we desire when there is opportunity to repay as far as by God's will we are able. And since you have asked for legates ye shall have legates." Having kissed the Pope's foot they then withdrew, believing that they had obtained their cause, for they had hope that the cardinals might be corrupted; wherefore after consultation the bishop of London returned and asked the lord Pope with what power the cardinals should come. "With what is right," said the Pope. "But," said the bishop, "we ask that they may decide the cause without appeal." "That," said the Pope, "is my glory, which I will not give to another; and of a surety when he is to be judged he shall be judged by us, for it were against all reason to send him back into England to be judged by his adversaries and among his enemies." Then the adverse party when they heard this, their hope being frus-

trated, departed in indignation to tell the king of the answer they had received.

[FitzStephen adds that an offer was made to the Pope of the payment of Peter's pence for ever "from every house from which smoke arises" if he would depose the archbishop.]

The Pope receives Thomas and condemns the Constitutions.

Garnier, pp. 81-84.

Within four days after to Sens S. Thomas came,
To the hostel he went, for of wandering he was weary;
With his clerks he took counsel, who never deceived him,
Who should plead his cause; they all remained silent,
None of them would plead it for bidding or for begging.

For none of them dared plead it for fear of K. Henry,
For they never would have his friendship again, they said;
The archbishop took it up himself, who had God to his friend.
The next day when he had served our Lord
He went to the Pope and fell at his feet.

The custom is that they who come there offer as a gift,
At the Pope's feet, some good things: silver or gold,
Rich plate or good jewel.
The king's chirograph the archbishop takes,
And at the Pope's feet spreads it out with his two hands.

"This is the cause wherefor I am bound to suffer exile;
"Sire, behold it here! ye shall hear it well.
"Such laws the king wisheth to establish in his realm,
"And would make Holy Church hold them by force,
"But I will not consent thereto against God.

"Wherefor, sire, I am come hither that I may show it "to you."
Then the Pope hath made him speak before them all,
And ordered the laws to be read and heard;
And the saint began to prove word by word
Where the king by these laws was wishing to tend and go.

A cardinal was listening there who greatly loved the king,
William of Pavia (thus was he named, I think).
All the cardinals the king hath drawn over to himself,
For he hath given them so much and done so much
That they maintained his cause openly and secretly.

When the archbishop began to speak
And to set forth his cause in Latin fairly,
He [William] began to traverse it right through,
He thought that he would have made him stop his case,
And that if he were disturbed he would not know how to finish it off.

Saint Thomas was very prudent, the Holy Ghost was in him,
And whatever he [William] said he had understood it well,

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And he answered it all through word by word,
In fair Latin at once he hath solved each point;
He had taken up quite a half day with his cause.

And when he had solved these questions well
He came back to his own points, as if he were Solomon
He pleaded forth his cause with many fair reasons;
Quite half a day the dispute between them has lasted,
For he was all through point by point close upon him.

When the archbishop had fairly finished his speech
And destroyed the laws by solid reason,
And had shown all through reasoning and proof;
Both clerks and laymen have heard his words fairly,
And the Pope had followed him over all the points.

The Pope sat him down by himself at once,
And "Welcome let him be" he bade him often,
And thanketh him greatly for undertaking such a great deed
As to defend Holy Church against an earthly king.
All through he should be helped, as far as reason alloweth!

The archbishop Thomas often thanked him
For his fair welcome that honoured him so;
Then the Pope excommunicated the laws,
And him, whomsoever he was, that should ever hold them,
And with his anathema confirmed it for ever.

The Parting of Alexander III. and S. Thomas.

Christmas, 1164.—The Empress Matilda's Opinion of the Contest.

Letter of Nicolas, Master of the Hospital of Mont S. Jacques, near Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Materials, v., p. 145.

On the third day from John of Oxford's departure we came to the empress, who for some time refused to receive your letter and spoke sharply to us because we had been to you after we knew you had been to the Curia, and she would not believe that you had gone there so quickly. Nevertheless we did not desist, but then and afterwards we said good words for you as it were against her will. On the third occasion after a few words she received your letter graciously, but in secret (because she wished it to be hid from her chaplains), and ordered us to read it. When she had heard it, at first she excused herself for the harsh words she had used of you to me or others privately and publicly, and for what she had advised the king. She asserted that her son had concealed from her all that he wished to do in ecclesiastical matters, because he knew that she was favourable to the liberty of the Church rather than to the royal will. But now she has sent a letter to her son by one of her clerks ordering him to signify to her by letter all that he intends concerning the state of the Church and your person. "And then," she said, "when I know his will, if I find that my interference will avail I will do my utmost for his peace and that of the Church."

. . . . . .

When we returned to the empress we narrated to her again all that you had enjoined. We repeated the Constitutions from memory, because master H. had lost the schedule. We added, too, that some of the Constitutions were contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ, and nearly all to the liberty of the Church; wherefore her son ought to fear peril in eternity as well as in time. Then she ordered us to send to you for a copy of the Constitutions. By God's will our copy was found that day, and on the day following she excluded every one from her chamber, and ordered us to read them in Latin and explain in French. The woman is of the race of the tyrants and some she approved, such as that forbidding to excommunicate the justices and servants of the king without his leave. Nevertheless I would not explain the others before I had first discussed this, quoting the precept of the Gospel where it is said to Peter "Tell it to the Church" not "Tell it to the king," and many other things. Of the greater number of the articles she disapproved. And above all it displeased her that they were reduced to writing, and that the bishops were compelled to take a promise to preserve them, for this was without precedent. After many words, when I enquired earnestly of her what might be the first means of making peace, we suggested this to her and she agreed. If it should happen that the king send to take counsel of his mother and of other reasonable persons they shall thus compromise the matter: that the ancient customs of the realm shall be observed without promise or writing,

and that with such moderation that neither shall the secular judges take away ecclesiastical liberty nor the bishops abuse it. You must know that our lady empress is dexterous in defence of her son, excusing him at one time by this zeal for justice, at another by the malice of the bishops; and she shows great discernment and reason in detecting the origin of the troubles of the Church. For she said some things in which we quite went along with her. The bishops indiscreetly ordain clerks who are without titles to any churches, whereby it comes to pass that a number of ordained persons, through poverty and idleness, fall into evil courses. For he does not fear deprivation who has no title to a Church. He does not fear punishment because the Church will defend him, nor does he dread the bishop's prison since bishops would rather that crime should go unpunished than take the trouble of doing their duty as pastors and keeping him in custody. The ordination of persons without titles is forbidden by the Council of Chalcedon, one of the four whose decrees the blessed Gregory loved like the four Gospels, as also many other canons.' Moreover a single clerk often holds four or seven churches or prebends, when the sacred canons everywhere manifestly forbid that even two should be allotted to one clerk. Observe how many disputes have arisen from this evil custom of donatives and presentations. On this subject the empress alluded to the case of Richard of Ilchester. And in truth the bishops are silent on the matter, for they themselves do for their

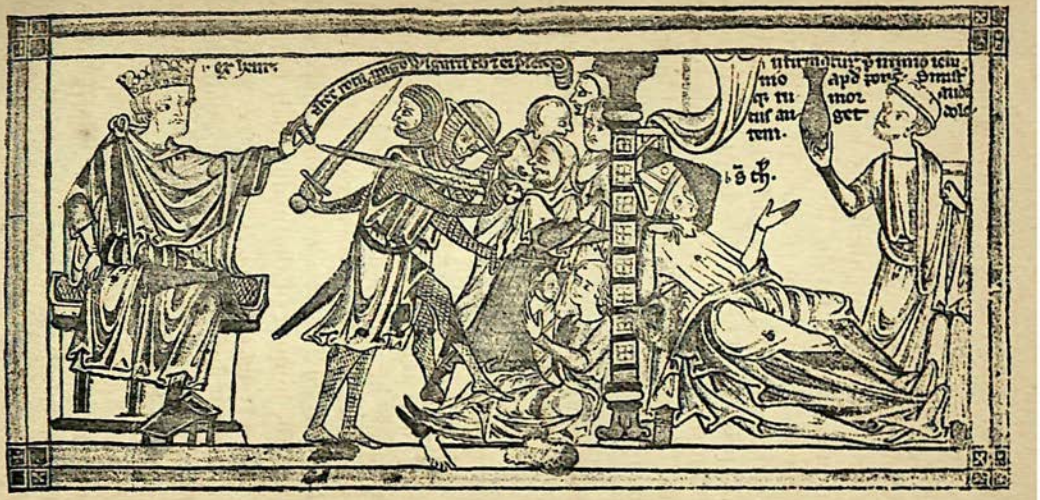
kinsmen what laymen do for their dependents. Further, that the bishops exact large fines from those who are accused to them of sins is quite contrary to the sacred canons; for, although there be a pecuniary penalty for sacrilege, yet it should be justly paid not to the bishops but to those persons to whom it belongs to make complaint of the sacrilege. Wherefore since it is from these and similar causes that the disturbances of the Church really arise it is greatly to be wondered why the axe of episcopal judgment is not laid to the root of the trees but to the branches. For it is by the Divine dispensation that from such a tree all should reap bitter fruit. Wherefore if you love the Church's liberty for God's sake show by your words and deeds that these things displease you. And if you write to the empress signify this to her in some way. In earnest truth we assure you that we have written the above solely from the love of right and for the health of your* soul: if we have spoken foolishly, forgive us, and let what we have said be secret.

Christmas, 1164.—Becket's Kindred banished.

Edward Grim: Materials, ii., p. 404.

When the king learnt that the archbishop had attained a safe refuge where neither his fierceness nor his threats should move him the royal fury blazed forth against his kindred. Those of whom

* This is the reading of the Cottonian MS. in the British Museum. The edition of Lupus (1682) and, I believe, the Vatican MS. on which it is based, read *our*.



1. King Henry orders the exile of Becket's kin.
2. S. Thomas at Pontigny falls sick from his Fasts and Vigils.

God especially calls Himself the Father and Judge, orphans, widows, children, altogether innocent and unknowing of any discord, aged men, women with little ones at the breast, clerks and lay folk, of whatever age or sex, of the archbishop's kin, and certain of his friends, that he might be the more afflicted, were ordered, all over the realm, to go into exile, utterly without provision; while his servants were cast into prison. The archbishopric was recalled into the king's hand, and was given to the charge of Ranulf de Broc, who was known of old to bear hatred to the man of God.

1164, Christmas.—The king's offensive measures. Writs from Marlborough.

Materials, v., pp. 151, 152.

(i.) *The king to the bishops of England.*

You know how evilly Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, has acted towards me and my kingdom, and how basely he has fled. And therefore I command you that his clerks who were with him after his flight and the other clerks who disparage my honour and the honour of the realm shall not receive any of the revenues which they have within your bishopric except by my order. Nor shall they have of you any help or counsel. Witness Richard of Lucy, at Marlborough.

(ii.) *The king to the sheriffs.*

I command you that if any one, clerk or lay, in your balliwick shall have appealed to the Court of Rome you shall take him and keep him in ward till

you learn my will; and all the revenues and possessions of the archbishop's clerks you shall seize into my hand, as Ranulf de Broc and other of my servants shall have told you. And the fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces of all the clerks who are with the archbishop you shall lay under safe pledges, and their chattels, until you shall learn my will therein. And this writ shall you bring with you when you shall be summoned.

Nov. 30, 1164.—May 1166.—The archbishop's life at Pontigny.

Alan of Tewkesbury. From the Quadrilogus: Materials, iv., p. 346.

Having received the papal benediction the blessed Thomas entered the abbey at Pontigny with a few followers. Now he adjudged himself unworthy to have received the pastoral charge from the apostolic hand unless he received also the religious habit; since in the episcopal seat he had to rule monks as his first begotten, and he learned that from the earliest foundation of the Church of Canterbury nearly all the archbishops had been monks, nor according to the histories of old times had there ever been a schism in the kingdom save when the archbishop had been a secular. The Pope therefore sent him a monastic robe which he had himself blessed, made of thick and rough woollen cloth. Wherefore he said to the messengers, "Tell the archbishop of Canterbury that I have sent him such an habit as I have, not such as I would." The abbat of Pontigny invested the

blessed Thomas with the habit privately, in the presence only of a few persons. Now there was standing by a certain follower of the archbishop (he * who first asked that question at Clarendon, "Who can retain his virtue who has lost his conscience and his reputation?") who when he saw that in that habit the hood was disproportionately small said, seriously enough, "Whether it be regular or not I do not know, but it is plain that the lord pope has not well fitted the hood to the cowl." The blessed Thomas smiled and said, "It was done on purpose; lest you should mock me again, as you did the other day." "How and when was that, my lord?" said he. "The day before yesterday when I was putting on the sacred vestments for mass and when I had put the girdle on I seemed to be stuffed out, you asked why I was so large behind. So if a large hood hung from my shoulders you would mock at me as humpbacked. Wherefore this was carefully provided for me to prevent such insults." In fact the archbishop wore a hair shirt from his neck to his knees, unknown even to his nearest friends; and when he was girt closely the stiffness of the cilice made it stick out and he seemed to be fat, whereas he was thin, though merry in face.

* Alexander-Llewellyn, the archbishop's crossbearer. See above, p. 60.

1165, May.—John of Salisbury's advice to Becket at Pontigny.

Materials, v., p. 163.

[Extract].

My counsel and desire and the sum of my prayer is that you should turn with your whole mind to the Lord and to prayer; because (as it is written in the Proverbs) "The name of the Lord is a strong tower, to which if a man fleeth he shall be freed from all his trouble."* Lay aside, meanwhile, all other occupation so far as you are able, because, although many things may seem necessary, that which I advise is to to be chosen first because it is most neccesary of all. Of much profit indeed are laws and canons; but, believe me, that now there is not need of them.

"Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit,"† for they do not so much excite devotion as curiosity. Do you not remember how in the people's distress, as it is written,‡ "The priests and ministers of the Lord weep between the porch and the altar, saying, 'Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people.'" "I communed with mine own heart," says the prophet, "and searched out my spirit; in the day of my trouble I sought the Lord"; thus teaching that spiritual exercise and cleansing of the conscience averts the scourge and obtains the mercy of God. Who arises pricked at heart from a reading of the laws or even of the canons? I say more: the exercises of the schools

* Proy. xviii. 10.

† Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 37.

‡ Joel ii. 17.

increase the pride of knowledge, but rarely or never kindle devotion. I would rather that you should meditate on the Psalms and peruse the blessed Gregory's Book of Morals* than that you should philosophise in scholastic fashion. You would do better to confer on moral subjects with some spiritual man, by whose example you may be kindled, than to pry into and discuss the contentious points of secular learning. God knoweth with what intent, with what devotion I suggest these things. You will take them as you please. But if you do them God will be your helper, so that you need not fear what man can do unto you. He knoweth that there is no hope for us in any mortal, as I think, in the present distress. Yet I hear that the king of France has solicited the Pope on your behalf, and has done kindness to the monks of Pontigny.

June, 1165.—The Pope annuls the Northampton sentence. Alexander III. to the Abp. Cant.

Materials, v., p. 178.

That the less cannot judge the greater, and especially him to whom he is known by law to be subject and is held bound by the chain of obedience, laws as well human as Divine declare, and especially is it clearly laid down in the statutes of the holy fathers. Wherefore we to whom it belongs to correct the things that are erroneous and to amend those which if not corrected would leave a pernicious example to posterity, having pondered these things with anxious

* The *Moralia* of S. Gregory.

care and considering that through the fault of an individual the Church ought not to sustain hurt or loss, do adjudge the sentence presumptuously passed upon you by the bishops and barons of England because you did not obey the king's first summons—in which sentence the said bishops and barons adjudged a forfeiture of all your moveables contrary to the form of law and against ecclesiastical custom, especially since you have no moveables except the goods of your Church—to be utterly void, and do quash the same by Apostolic authority, ordering that for the future it have no force, nor shall avail to bring any prejudice or hurt hereafter to you or your successors or to the Church committed to your rule.

[Writing again from Clermont in Auvergne about the same time (June, 1165) the Pope counselled Becket to be moderate, and ordered him to forbear any measures against the king or his land until Easter, 1166 (*Ep.* xcv. *Materials* v., p. 179), and a letter from Becket's clerk, Master Hervey (*Ep.* xcvi), describes the Pope as being extremely cautious of committing himself in the archbishop's favour. On Whit-Sunday, May 23, 1165, a great council was held by the emperor at Würzburg. We have accounts of the proceedings and a letter addressed by the emperor to the abbat of Stablo as well as a manifesto addressed "to all people, over whom the empire of our clemency rules." According to these documents the conncil confirmed the election of Pope Paschal III. (Guy of Crema, nominated April 22, 1164, died Sept. 20, 1168), and took oaths never to recognize Alexander III. or any successor appointed by his party. The archbishop elect of Köln made a speech in which he declared that he had won over the English bishops to desert the cause of Alexander, and as proof of this produced the envoys of the king of England, John of Oxford, about this time made dean of Salisbury, and Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers.

They took the oath on the part of the king and barons that they would adhere to the party of Paschal. In consequence of the reports of this event Rotrou of Beaumont, archbishop of Rouen, was directed to write to one of the cardinals (*Ep.* ci.) to declare that no such promise had been made by the king. John of Oxford was also sent to the Pope to declare that he had taken no such oath. It seems probable that Henry had not committed himself so far as was represented, but he had done his best to arouse the fears of Alexander, in order to induce him to abandon Becket. He had in April received the archbishop-elect of Köln and entered into negotiation for marriage between his daughters Matilda and Eleanor, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and a young son of the emperor. The archbishop was ill received in England; the earl of Leicester refused the kiss to him, as a schismatic; and the altars at which he had celebrated were purified. The marriage of Matilda and Henry the Lion took place in 1168 (see Eyton's *Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 109.)]

July, 1165.—John of Poictiers' advice to the Archbishop.

[From *Ep.* ciii.] *Materials* v., p. 197.

It will be needful for you to husband your resources. Your prudence ought to know that there is no one who will think shame of you, if in conformity with your circumstances and condescension to the religious house that entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate number of horses and men, such as your necessities require.

June, 1165.—The Pope bids Foliot warn the king.

Materials v., p. 175. Dr. Giles's translation.

Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brother Gilbert, bishop of London, health and apostolical benediction.

It will not have escaped your memory, that our beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of England requested of us formerly, with much earnestness, to permit your translation from the see of Hereford, which you then occupied, to that of London. And, moreover, that to secure our assent he dwelt on the advantages likely to result from your promotion, alleging that London was the seat of the government, and that he wished to have you near his person for the benefit of your counsels, as well in temporal matters as in those that concern his soul. We, therefore, looking to the interest of the king and nation, and above all, of God's holy Church consented to your promotion. A time has now arrived when we expect to reap the benefits we then proposed to ourselves, and to experience the reality of the hopes which were then held out to us.

Doubtless you are not ignorant that the aforesaid king has of late fallen off much from his devotion to the holy Church; he has forbidden appeals, has entered into communication with schismatics and persons excommunicated, and exiled from his dominions our venerable brother the archbishop of Canterbury, by which acts he has become even a persecutor of the Church. Wherefore we command you, in conjunction with the bishop of Hereford, to warn the king that he desist without delay from these evil practices and make satisfaction for what he has done amiss; admonish him to love his God with singleness of heart; to respect as he was wont his holy mother the Roman Church; to withdraw his prohibition on

all visits and appeals to it; to recall and reinstate our brother aforesaid, the archbishop, in his diocese; to stand fast in his reverence towards the blessed S. Peter and ourself; to attend on works of piety and religion; no longer to oppress, as he is said to do, or permit others to oppress, the churches and clergy of his kingdom or his other territories; but to love, maintain, and by his royal protection support them; that by these means he may obtain from Him by Whom kings reign, both a continuance of his temporal kingdom here, and the gift of an eternal one hereafter.

Furthermore, although we ourselves, in consideration of his former devotion and his service shown to us in time of need, still love him with abundant charity, as a noble prince and renowned king, and still labour for the advancement of his glory (though he himself seems to think otherwise of us) with a fervent zeal; nevertheless, it is fit you should recall to his mind that unless he repents of his evil deeds, and that speedily, God will most surely visit him with heavy vengeance, and the time must at last come when our patience can no longer endure.

These things we desire to lay before him, not for our own good but for his salvation, in return for those many and signal services which he has before now rendered to us as a most Christian king. His greatness is our delight; his welfare, and that of his kingdom, is the object of our most earnest wish.

The Bishop of London's reply.

Materials, v., p. 203. *Dr. Giles's Translation.*

Beloved father in Christ, we have, as in duty bound, laid the commands of your holiness before the famous and well-beloved prince, the king of England, who is now with his army on the borders of Wales. In conjunction with our venerable brother Robert, bishop of Hereford, we presented our instructions to his Majesty, and both with entreaty and such arguments as we could venture on using, exhorted him to a speedy compliance.

We pressed him to regard the warnings of his father, and if in anything he had done amiss to return at once to the way of righteousness, to love God with a pure heart, to honour the holy Catholic Church, and not to interfere with its jurisdiction; above all, to recall and reinstate our father, the lord archbishop, to protect our churches and their ministers, to persevere in his allegiance to the holy apostolic see. Moreover, we warned him that, should he persist in disobedience, there was a point beyond which the patience of your holiness could not endure, and we reminded him of the retribution he might expect from that God who had exalted him, and could also cast him down.

His Majesty, in return, expressed his thanks for your holiness's goodness, in the hope of receiving less harsh treatment at your hands. That he had no wish to interfere with appeals to your holiness's court, but merely claimed to himself the right, in civil causes, of hearing the case first, according to the

ancient usage of the country; should this decision prove unjust, he would place no further obstacle in the way of an appeal. Moreover, should this claim prove in any way prejudical to the interests of the Church, he pledged himself to submit it to the judgment of the next general British council. As to the intercourse he had held with the emperor, he protested that, up to that moment, he did not know of his excommunication; and, with regard to the flight of our father the lord archbishop, he assures your holiness that it was not ordered by him; that his lordship's absence is purely voluntary; and that no one will interfere with his returning whenever he is so minded; only that he will have to answer certain complaints lodged against him respecting a breach of the royal privileges, which he is sworn to uphold. That in any instance when a church or churchman may be supposed to have received injury at his hands he will cheerfully abide the judgment of his assembled clergy.

Such was his Majesty's reply, which we forward to your holiness as it was delivered to us. At the same time we venture to submit to your holiness, that though we could have wished it in some respects different, still in main points it seems to vindicate his Majesty's conduct, and that in the present crisis it might perhaps be hazardous to require a fuller submission. It is written "A bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench";* and it may be questioned how far it is desirable to

* Matthew xii. 20.

risk the alienation of a great king and nation by an ill-timed, though just, exercise of severity.

A wounded limb may recover as long as it is united with the body; when cut off its situation is desperate. May your holiness be pleased to try the milder course with us in our present state of unparalleled distraction. Soon, perhaps, a more favourable opportunity may present itself, and your holiness's commands may take a fuller effect. Just at present it may be expepedient to make some sacrifices with a view to permanent advantages by and by. Even supposing things to end in the continued exile of our lord of Canterbury and a temporary disaffection of England, still were it not better to forbear for a time than to have recourse at once to the desperate step? For although most of us, it is to be hoped, are proof against persecution, still there will be found many to bow the knee before Baal; the pall of Canterbury may be sought from the hands of the intruder, and there would be no want of hirelings to occupy our churches. The possibility of such an event is even now openly talked of, and thus the dangers which impend over us concern the whole Church Catholic as well as ourselves.

1165.—John of Salisbury's exile.

Materials, v., p. 544.

John of Salisbury to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.

[This letter is of great interest as showing the position taken up in the great contest by one of such wide sympathies and great knowledge as John of Salisbury, a man of European reputation, a writer of the greatest eminence and the valued

correspondent alike of sovereigns, prelates, and religious. Bartholomew of Exeter had, with John of Salisbury, been trained in the school of archbishop Theobald. He became bishop after Robert Warlewast, who died March 22, 1160. He had not taken a prominent part in the quarrel, but is mentioned by Foliot as one of those who "stood firm" when Becket yielded. He died Dec. 15, 1184.]

The archdeacon of Poitiers* promised me to do what he could for my reconciliation,† but he has not answered me as to how he has succeeded. Now I have also made application in a second letter to the bishop of London, who is said to stand highest in the king's favour; the bearer will further inform you. If anything should be said in your presence about my pardon endeavour, I beseech you, both yourself and through others that its form should be such as should cast on me no spot of treachery or mark of baseness; otherwise I had rather be in exile for ever. For if it were demanded of me that I should deny my archbishop (which none of his own people have yet done, nor any one in all England) God forbid that I should agree to such baseness, whether first or last. I have preserved my due fidelity to my archbishop, but on my conscience, saving also the honour of the king. If anyone has said that I have been engaged against him in anything which I cannot justify, I am prepared to make amends, at the dictates of justice, according to his honour and good pleasure. For He who sees all hearts and judges all words and deeds knows that more often and more severely than

* Richard of Ilchester.

† With the king.

any man have I rebuked the lord archbishop concerning those things whereby from the first he seemed more zealously and wisely to have provoked the king and his party to bitterness, when much ought to be condoned on account of place and time and persons. Nor do I doubt that—as it may be to-morrow—my just conduct will answer for me, by God's mercy. And without doubt this exile has been of the greatest benefit to the archbishop both as to his learning and his character; and I also have profited in some degree, in that I am thankful for God's providence. I will not indeed promise that I will not for the future serve my lord of Canterbury, nevertheless God is my witness that according to your desire I will in future be a courtier. If God should open to me a way of return, write if I should return with all my baggage. For if so I shall want more horses and many things that I do not at present possess.

About May, 1166.—Thomas to the king.

Materials, v., p. 278.

[In 1166, before proceeding to extremities, the archbishop addressed to the king three letters, increasing in severity as he received no favourable reply. The third is here given. This was sent, says Herbert, by a fit messenger, a monk, Gerald "the shoeless," ascetic and zealous. The other letters are given in *Materials* v., pp. 266 and 269.]

These are the words of the archbishop of Canterbury to the king of the English.

With desire I have desired to see your face and to speak with you; greatly for my own sake but more for yours. For my sake, that when you saw my face

you might recall to memory the services which, when I was under your obedience, I rendered faithfully and zealously to the best of my conscience (so help me God in the last judgment, when we shall all stand before His judgment seat to receive according to the deeds we have done in the body, whether good or evil), and that so you might be moved to pity me, who am forced to beg my bread among strangers; yet, thanks be to God, I have an abundance. And I have much consolation, as saith the apostle, "All who live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution,"* and the prophet, "I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread."† For your sake for three causes: because you are my lord, because you are my king, and because you are my spiritual son. In that you are my lord I owe and offer to you my counsel and service, such as a bishop owes to his lord according to the honour of God and the holy Church. And in that you are my king I am bound to you in reverence and regard. In that you are my son I am bound by reason of my office to chasten and correct you . . . . . Christ founded the Church and purchased her liberty with His blood, undergoing the scourging and spitting, the nails, and the anguish of death, leaving us an example that we should follow in His steps. Whence also saith the apostle,‡ "If we suffer with Him we shall also reign with Him. If we die with Him, with Him we shall rise again."

* 2 Tim. iii. 12.

† Ps. xxxvii. 25.

‡ 2 Tim. ii. 12.

The Church of God consists of two orders, clergy and people. Among the clergy are apostles, apostolic men, bishops, and other doctors of the Church, to whom is committed the care and governance of the Church, who have to perform ecclesiastical business, that the whole may redound to the saving of souls. Whence also it was said to Peter, and in Peter to the other rulers of the Church, not to kings nor to princes, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."*

Among the people are kings, princes, dukes, earls, and other powers, who perform secular business, that the whole may conduce to the peace and unity of the Church. And since it is certain that kings receive their power from the Church, not she from them but from Christ, so, if I may speak with your pardon, you have not the power to give rules to bishops, nor to absolve or excommunicate anyone, to draw clerks before secular tribunals, to judge concerning churches and tithes, to forbid bishops to adjudge causes concerning breach of faith or oath, and many other things of this sort which are written among your customs which you call ancient. Let† my lord, therefore, if it please him, listen to the counsel of his subject, to the warnings of his bishop, and to the chastisement of his father. And first let him for the future abstain from all communion with schismatics.

* Matthew xvi. 18.

† From this point I have used the translation of Mr. R. H. Froude with a few alterations.

It is known almost to the whole world with what devotion you formerly received our lord the Pope and what attachment you showed to the Church of Rome, and also what respect and deference were shown you in return. Forbear then, my lord, if you value your soul, to deprive that Church of her rights. Remember also the promise which you made, and which you placed in writing on the altar at Westminster when you were consecrated and anointed king by my predecessor, of preserving to the Church her liberty. Restore therefore to the Church of Canterbury, from which you received your promotion and consecration, the rank which it held in the time of your predecessors and mine; together with all its possessions, townships, castles and farms, and whatsoever else has been taken by violence either from myself or my dependents, laymen as well as clerks. And further, if so please, you permit us to return free and in peace, and with all security to our see, to perform the duties of our office as we ought. And we are ready faithfully and devotedly with all our strength to serve you as our dearest lord and king with all our strength in whatsoever we are able, saving the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and saving our order. Otherwise, know for certain that you shall feel the Divine severity and vengeance.

1166.—The archbishop now prepares for severe measures, and forewarns the empress in a letter to Nicholas of Mont S. Jacques, Rouen.

Materials, v., p. 360.

[In the main Mr. R. H. Froude's translation with corrections].

Know for certain and let our lady empress know also that in a short time, yea, very short, we shall, with God's help, unsheath the sword of the Spirit which is sharper than any two-edged sword for the destruction of his obdurate flesh and the salvation of his slumbering, yea, nigh extinct, spirit.

Make our lady empress to understand that she ought now to hold us excused in this matter, for that things are come to a pass when further forbearance would be sinful. And assure her that even now should her son revive to a spiritual life and listen to his mother's counsels and to the voice of God he will find us ready to attend his will to God's honour. Meanwhile, we mourn over him with eagerness as for a dying son, and hope and pray, God knoweth, with no less earnestness for his preservation.

[On April, 1166, the Pope addressed a letter to the archbishop of York and all the bishops of England declaring that the right of crowning kings was an ancient privilege of the archbishop of Canterbury, and forbidding any other, "should an occasion arise," to take part in a coronation without him. Further than this, on Easter Day, April 24, 1166, the Pope issued from the Lateran a brief addressed to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, wherein he was appointed legate over the whole of England excepting the diocese of York, with full power. (*Materials*, v., p. 328). A commission, of which the date is doubtful, had been issued probably before this. It is given in

the *Materials*, v., 324, and runs in the same form as that issued by Eugenius III. to archbishop Theobald. The exercise of the powers therein conferred had probably been suspended, and the new commission would revive them. The archbishop on receipt of it at once proceeded to act.]

June, 1166.—The King's Council at Chinon, and the Vezelay Censures.

John of Salisbury to Bartholomew of Exeter.

[Extract.]

[In the main Mr. R. H. Froude's translation.]

Materials, v., p 380 *et seq.*

Difficulties perplex the king on all sides, but what harasses him most is the war which he is waging against Christ and the Church, which he now sees before him as an inextricable labyrinth. Not long since at Chinon he held a conference with his nobles and those of his household who are notorious for their skill in evil, conjuring them with promises and threats and protestations to assist him with some counsel against the Church and complaining much of the archbishop of Canterbury with sighs and groans; as those who were present afterwards reported he declared with tears that the archbishop would take from him both body and soul. At length he exclaimed that they were all traitors who had not the zeal or courage to rid him from the molestation of one man.* At this the archbishop of Rouen rebuked him with some warmth, but gently, in his own way, and in the spirit of meekness; whereas the cause of God

* Words very similar to those which brought about the murder. See below.

and of the despised priesthood required a sterner course. What especially embittered the king was a fear which he had conceived from the letter sent to himself and his mother by the aforesaid archbishop. I send you copies of them. He feared, and with reason, that an interdict was to be pronounced against his land and himself excommunicated without further delay under the immediate sanction of the Pope. While he was in this strait the bishop of Lisieux suggested as a last resource that the impending sentence might be warded off by an appeal. Thus by a strange fatality it came to pass that the king, while contending for those "ancient customs" by which he sought to avoid the right of appeal, was condemned himself to confirm it for his own protection. When they departed from the council the bishops of Lisieux and Séez went out from the face of God and the king to seek the archbishop of Canterbury with all haste that they might be in time with their appeal* and thus suspend the sentence till the Octave of Easter. The archbishop of Rouen too accompanied them, not, as he says, to join in the appeal, but if possible to bring about a reconciliation. But our archbishop, who was now girding himself as for the battle, had made a sudden journey to Soissons, where

* "An appeal against a sentence of excommunication, in order to be valid, must be made before the sentence is passed; after the sentence, the person excommunicated, being no longer a member of the Church, cannot be acknowledged in the character of an appellant, but only as a penitent. This is not the case with any other appeals except that against excommunication." Mr. R. H. Froude.

are the three famous shrines, that of the Blessed Virgin, whose memory is cherished there, and of the blessed Drausius, to whom men resort when about to fight, and the third of the blessed Gregory, founder of the English Church, whose body rests in that city. To these saints he wished to commend himself before the coming struggle. For the blessed Drausius is that most glorious Confessor who, as the Franks and Lorrainers believe, makes those combatants invincible who keep vigil to his memory: so that they also of Burgundy and Italy resort in such necessity to him. Here it was that Robert de Montfort watched the night before he fought with Henry of Essex. Thus by God's grace it came to pass that the assiduity of the royal bishops was frustrated. For when they arrived at Pontigny they found no archbishop to appeal against, and returned at once, much mortified at the expense and trouble which had procured them nothing. But the archbishop, when he had watched three nights before the shrines of the aforesaid saints, on the day after Ascension Day hastened to Vezelay, intending on the day of Pentecost to pronounce sentence of anathema against the king and his followers. But it so happened by God's will that on the Friday before the said festival, when he was in the Church of Rigny, it was announced to him as certain and true that the king of the English laboured under so grievous an infirmity that he had not been able to attend a conference with the king of the Franks, which he had sought with much desire and many gifts, and had sent, to excuse his absence, Richard,

archdeacon of Poictiers, and Richard de Humet, who were willing to take oath as to the cause of his absence. This being signified to the archbishop by a messenger from the king of the Franks, he deferred the sentence on the king, as I had before advised. But John of Oxford he publicly denounced as excommunicate, and excommunicated him by the authority of the Roman pontiff, I quote his own words, "because he had fallen into a damnable heresy in taking a sacrilegious oath to the emperor and communicating with the schismatic of Köln, and usurping for himself the deanery of the church of Salisbury against the commands of the lord pope." These causes he alleged from the pulpit in the hearing of the whole concourse of divers nations who had flocked together to Vezelay on the day of the festival. In the same place likewise, alleging causes various and just, he excommunicated Richard archdeacon of Poictiers, and Richard de Lucy, Jocelin de Balliol, Ranulf de Broc, Hugh de St. Clair, and Thomas Fitz Bernard and all who for the future should stretch forth their hands against the possessions and goods of the Church of Canterbury or ill-use or interfere with those for whose necessities they have been set apart. The king, whom he had already, by letters and messengers, called to satisfaction according to the rule and custom of the Church, he now invited with a public summons to the fruits of penance, threatening him with anathema unless he speedily returned to wisdom and gave satisfaction for so great injuries against the Church. This, however, he will not

resort to, except most reluctantly. I know none of his household who advises the issue of such a sentence.

[The archbishop addressed a letter to the Pope (*Materials*, v., p. 386), in which he informed him of what he had done. He had waited, he declared, for signs of improvement in the king, but he only hardened his heart the more; so far, indeed, as to threaten the whole Cistercian order if shelter were given to him any longer at Pontigny. (A letter to this effect is printed in the *Materials*, v., p. 365.) He had thus been obliged to resort to stern measures, and had condemned the abominable "customs" with their authors. He gave a list of the clauses condemned and persons excommunicated. To this the Pope replied (undated letter, *Materials*, v., p. 392), confirming the excommunications issued at Vezelay. When the news of the Vezelay censures was received in England the bishops and abbats met to consult as to what could be done. On S. John Baptist's Day, June 24, 1166, they addressed letters to the Pope and to the archbishop. In the first they traced the whole course of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop, and, laying the blame entirely on the latter, protested against the censures issued on Ascension Day, and appealed against them to the Pope himself. The second letter to the archbishop is here given.]

1166, June.—The bishops to their archbishop.

Materials, v., p. 408. *Dr. Giles's translation.*

To their venerable father and lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, the suffragan bishops of the same church, and others throughout their dioceses, due subjection and obedience.

Whatever disturbances, father, your unexpected departure to so great a distance has produced among us, we had hoped, by God's grace and your own

humble-mindedness, might have been appeased. It was consolatory to us, after your departure, to hear it reported on all sides that in your solitary and exiled condition you indulged no vain imaginations, and were forming no schemes against our lord the king or his kingdom, but bore with modesty that indigence which you had freely taken upon you. It was said that your attention was given to study and prayer, and to redeem with fasting, watching, and mourning the time which you had lost, and that by these spiritual occupations you were carving your road by the path of accumulated merits to the resting-place of perfection. We rejoiced that by such studies you were zealously preparing the way to the renewal of peace and all its blessings, and hoped that you might by these means call down the Divine grace into the heart of our lord the king that his royal mercy might relax from anger and forget the injuries brought about by your departure. Your friends and well-wishers found access to his Majesty so long as these reports were heard of you, and he received with kindness the petitions that were made to restore you to his favour. But now we have heard from certain persons, and we recall it to our recollection with much anxiety, that you have sent him a denunciatory letter, in which you omit the usual salutation, and use neither counsel nor petition whereby to obtain his grace, but your words and sentiments are alike hostile, and you threaten, with expressions of the deepest severity, to launch an interdict against him, and cut him off at once from the

communion of the Church. Should this sentence be as rigidly executed, as it has bitterly been denounced, so far from hoping to restore tranquillity after our late convulsions, we fear that they will be kindled into a flame, ending in a lasting and irreconcileable hatred. Prudence is a holy virtue and looks well to the end of all things, and is ever careful to conclude with success what has been commenced in wisdom. We would therefore pray your discretion to consider what will be the result; whether by such a course the desired end can be obtained. They have already dashed the hopes of peace which we had conceived, and plunged us into the depths of despair. The sword has been again drawn, and the fight begun again, nor can we any longer find grounds for interceding in your behalf. In charity, therefore, we dictate to you advice as to our father, not to add toil to toil, injury to injury, but to cease from these threats, to study patience and humility, to commit your cause to the Divine compassion, and the merciful consideration of our lord. By this conduct you will heap coals of fire upon the heads of many. Thus charity will be enkindled, and by God's grace and the counsels of the good, piety alone will obtain that which threats have failed to accomplish. It is better to be praised for voluntary poverty than to be marked in public by all men with the stamp of ingratitude towards your benefactor. The minds of all men are strongly impressed with the favours which our lord the king conferred upon you, the honours to which he raised you from so low a state, and

the familiar intercourse to which he admitted you, so that all his dominions, from the northern ocean to the Pyrenees, were subjected to your administration, and the world looked upon all as happy who obtained favour in your sight. That your renown might not be shaken by the storms to which all human affairs are subject, the king wished to anchor you fast in the things which belong to God and to His church. Thus, against the advice of his mother, and the voice of the whole kingdom, whilst the church too as far as it was able mourned and murmured at the act, he used every means to raise you to your present eminence, hoping that he should thenceforth reign in peace and security, supported by your power and assisted with your advice. If then he has found one that smites, where he had looked for safety, what think you will the world, one and all, say of you? Will they not bear in mind this extraordinary mode of requiting the favours which you have received? Spare your good fame we entreat, have respect to your own glory: and study rather to vanquish, by your humility him who is your master, by your charity him who is your son. If our admonitions are unable to influence, yet the love and fidelity of the supreme pontiff and of the holy Roman church ought to have power to move you. There ought to be little difficulty in inducing you to attempt nothing that may increase the difficulties of your holy mother, the church, already too severely burdened; nothing whereby the disobedience of many may be aggravated by the loss of the remainder who still continue in

obedience. Suppose that by your means and by your exasperation our lord the king (which God forbid !) with so many nations and kingdoms which God has given him, should desert our lord the pope, and refuse for the future to follow him, because perchance he may not aid him against you. You know what entreaties, what gifts and promises have been used to induce him to do this. As yet, however, he has stood firm as a rock against them and magnanimously trodden under foot all that the world can offer. One thing, however, remains to be feared, lest his own anger prompt him to do that for which treasures or wealth and all that is valued among men have been offered in vain. If all this should happen through you, lamentation will be yours, and the fountains of your eyes may for ever flow, for it will be out of your power, out of reason, to dry them up. Take counsel then in time, if it so please your highness, counsel that may benefit the cause of our lord the pope and the holy Roman Church : and mark ! it will be of use to yourself also in every way, if it be adopted. Perhaps those who are about you hold their heads on high, and will not allow you to adopt this course ; they advise you to try your strength with our lord the king, and to exercise your power and prerogative against him and his. This power is a snare to one who is in error, but most formidable to him who will not atone for his error. We do not say that our lord the king has never erred, but we say and assert with confidence that he has always been ready to atone to his Lord

for what he has done amiss. He has been appointed king by the Lord and he provides in everything for the peace of his subjects. It is to preserve this peace to the churches and people committed to his charge that he wishes and requires the dignities granted to his ancestors to be maintained and secured to himself. If on this point any contention has arisen between you and him, and the supreme pontiff, with fatherly piety, hath admonished him through our venerable fathers, the bishops of London and Hereford, he has not elevated his head to the clouds, but in every matter wherein either the Church or any ecclesiastical person hath shown himself aggrieved, the king hath always answered humbly and mildly that he has never coveted that which belongs to others, but that he will submit to the judgment of the clergy of his kingdom, and he has always shown himself ready to fulfil what he has thus promised. Compliance is sweet to him, when he is admonished to correct what he has done amiss towards God. Nor does he limit this to mere words of atonement, but is ready to give whatever justice may demand. Inasmuch then as he is ready to do and to give all that is required, and neither in the slightest particular shuns the judgment of the Church in aught that concerns the Church, nor shows the least disposition to withdraw from the yoke of Christ; by what justice, by what law or canon can you assail him with an interdict, or (God forbid the deed) cut him off by the spiritual axe from Christian unity. It is praiseworthy not to be

borne away by passion, but to be guided by prudence and discretion. Wherefore it is the common petition of all of us, that you will not, by too hasty measures, slay and destroy, but provide with paternal solicitude that the sheep committed to your charge may enjoy life, peace and security.

We all of us sympathise in what has been lately done—some think preposterously—against our brother the lord bishop of Salisbury and his dean, against whom you have hurled the sentence of suspension, and condemned before inquiry had been made into their fault, following, as it seemed to us, the heat of passion rather than the course of justice. This is a new mode of giving judgment, unknown hitherto, as we had hoped, to the laws and canons, to pass sentence first and afterwards to hear the cause. That you may not attempt to exercise or to extend this prerogative against our lord the king and his kingdom, against us, and the churches and parishes committed to our charge, to the injury of our lord the pope, and the disgrace and detriment of the holy Roman church and to the no slight augmentation of our own confusion, we stand upon the remedy that we have, and appeal against you. And whereas we have already, in the face of the church appealed to our lord the pope, against the sentence which we feared; we here also appeal a second time to the same in writing, and we fix as the term for the appeal the day of our Lord's Ascension, praying most devoutly that you may adopt more salutary counsel, and spare this expense and toil to both of us; and so to shape your

cause that a remedy may be found for it. We bid you farewell, farewell in the Lord.

[The king supported the appeal; but he was not satisfied with endeavouring to make Alexander III. censure the Archbishop; he determined to make fresh overtures to the Imperial party. He addressed a letter to Reginald, archbishop of Köln (*Materials*, v., p. 428), in which he declared that he had long desired to desert Alexander and his perfidious cardinals; that he had demanded of the Pope the deposition of Becket and power to appoint a successor to him, and that if this were not yielded he would with his Church and barons repudiate him and accept Paschal III.]

The following was the archbishop's reply to his English critics:—

1166.—To the Clergy of England.

Materials, v., p. 490. *In the main Dr. Giles's Translation.*

Thomas, by the Grace of God humble minister of the church of Canterbury, to his reverend brethren in general, by God's grace bishops of the province of Canterbury, if indeed the letter be their joint production, health and grace to act as they have not yet acted. Your joint letter, my brethren, which has just reached us, but which we cannot easily believe to have proceeded from your joint wisdom, has filled us with astonishment. Its contents seem to convey more of irony than of consolation; and I would that it had been dictated by pious zeal and feeling of charity rather than the suggestions of the will. . . . . .

Would to God, my beloved brethren, that you had the same zeal in defending the liberty of the Church as you have shown towards its confusion in your letters of appeal falsely, as we believe, so called.

But her foundations are upon a rock, nor is any man able to up-turn, though he may shake, them. Why do you endeavour to confound me, and in me to confound yourselves and me together? I have taken the whole danger upon myself, I have borne so many reproaches, so many injuries, and have suffered proscription in behalf of all of you. It was expedient that one man should be afflicted for the Church, that so she might be released from slavery. Consider the matter in single-mindedness, examine it well, and weigh well the result, that ye may set aside the majesty of royalty and regard to persons of whom God is no accepter, and that ye may be brought to understand the true nature of what ye have done and of what ye are about to do. May God take away the veil from your hearts that you may perceive your duty. If there be anyone among you who can say that since my promotion I have taken away from him an ox or an ass, or his money; if I have judged unjustly the cause of anyone, or to the injury of anyone among you have procured advantage to myself, let him now speak and I will restore four-fold. But if I have offended no one, why do ye leave me to fight alone in the cause of God? Ye are fighting against yourselves in that cause so vital to the interests of the Church. Do not so, my brethren, do not, as far as lies in your power, confound both yourselves and God's Church, but turn to me and you will be safe. For the Lord hath said "I will not the death of the unrighteous, but rather that he should be converted and live." Stand manfully with me in the

battle, with shield and sword, rise up to aid me. Gird yourselves with the sword of God's word, which is all powerful, that we may be the better able to strive in the discharge of our duty against them that work iniquity and assail that liberty which is the existence of the Church, without which she cannot flourish nor keep down those who would possess as their inheritance the sanctuary of the Lord.

Let us make haste then lest the anger of God descend upon us as upon negligent and slothful shepherds. Let us not be taken for dumb dogs, that cannot bark; let it not be said of us by those who pass by, "From the elders of Babylon iniquity hath gone forth." If in truth ye hearken unto me, know that the Lord will be with you, and with all of you, in all your ways to give peace to his Church and to defend her liberties. If ye will not hearken unto me, let God judge between me and you, and at your hands will be required the troubles and confusion of his Church. For whether the world will or no, she must stand firm in the word of the Lord, whereon she is built, until the hour come when she shall pass from this world to the Father. God will judge why ye have left me alone in the battle, with no one of all those who were dear to me to go up with me to the fight; insomuch that each of you may think or say, "Woe to him alone, for if he falls he has no one to raise him up." But my hopes are laid up within my own bosom, for he is not alone with whom the Lord is; when he falls he shall not be dashed to pieces, for the Lord sustains him in his hand.

But let us come to the point, my brethren; has it escaped your memory how I and the Church were dealt with when I was still in England? what was done at the time of my departure, after my departure and in these latter days, and especially at Northampton, when Christ was judged in my person before the tribunal of the prince? when the archbishop of Canterbury was constrained by the injuries done indiscriminately to himself and the Church of God to appeal to the Roman see, and to place under the protection of God and the Roman Church all the possessions which belonged to him, or rather which belonged to the poor, for they are the patrimony of our crucified Saviour, not given for our use but entrusted to our stewardship? Although the Divine mercy has sometimes allowed the archbishop of Canterbury to be exiled unjustly, yet who ever heard of his being tried and condemned, compelled to give bail in the king's court, above all by his own suffragans? Where did they find this adverse authority, or rather perversity of the law and of the canons? Does not this act of enormity produce shame in all of you—shame leading to confusion—confusion to repentance and repentance to retribution, both before God and man? To these great injuries wrought against God and his Church, and against me fighting in God's cause, I was unable to submit with a safe conscience to remedy them without danger of my life, or to dissemble them without risk of my soul's salvation: wherefore I chose rather to turn aside for a while that I might dwell with greater benefit in the house of

the Lord than in the tents of sinners, until their iniquity should be complete, the breasts of the wicked laid open, and the thoughts of their hearts be revealed. Thus the injuries that were done to me were the cause of my appeal. This was the occasion of my departure, which you say was so unexpected; and if ye, who know what was intended against me, and how I was dealt with, would but speak the truth, ye would admit that I was forced to keep my departure secret, if I wished it not to be prevented altogether. But the Lord rules our misfortunes and turns them to good. He had regard to the honour of the king and his party, that nothing might be done against me which would redound to his dishonour, or to the dishonour of his family. And it turned out well for those who were eager for my death, and who thirsted for my blood, who aimed at the eminence of the see of Canterbury, and at my destruction, with an avidity which, I grieve to speak it, is said to have surpassed even their ambition. We have appealed against them, and whilst the possessions of the see of Canterbury, of myself and of my adherents, remain as they ought in safety, we have been engaged in prosecuting our appeal.

If, as ye say, things have been disturbed by my departure and in consequence of my departure, let him take the blame who gave occasion for this disturbance; the fault lies with him who does the deed, not with him that retreats from it; with him who inflicts, not with him who shuns an injury. The author of mischief is he who has given cause for it.

What more can I say? We presented ourselves before the Court and explained the injuries done to the Church and to ourselves, the cause of our coming, and the motive of our appeal: there was no one to answer us in anything; we waited, but no one brought anything against us: no judgment was reported against us until we came before the king. Whilst we were still waiting, as is usual, in the Court, if by chance anything should be objected to us, our officials were forbidden to obey us in anything of a temporal nature, or to minister to us in any way against the command or without the knowledge of the king. It was you, they say, my brother of London, with Richard of Ilchester and the archbishop of York, who advised this sentence. After this they hurried to our lord the king, and the advice which they gave him will recoil on the head of the adviser. Without a trial, and for no reason, after we had already appealed, and whilst we were still remaining at the [papal] court, the church was plundered and proscribed, clerks as well as laics, men and women, women with infants in the cradle. The goods of the church, which are the patrimony of our crucified Saviour, were added to the exchequer; part of the money was converted to the king's use, part to your use and to the use of your church, my brother of London, if we have been truly informed. We now claim it, if ye have had it, at your hands, enjoining you by virtue of your obedience that within forty days after the receipt of this letter whatever you have received from thence, or have converted to the use of

your church, you restore the whole thereof within the period above-named without excuse and without delay. For it is unjust and contrary to all right that one church should be enriched out of the spoils of another. Ye must well know that of things taken from churches that man is ill qualified to exercise lawful authority who practises violence and injustice. . . . . Ye, my friends, whose minds are more elevated and endowed with greater prudence than the rest, since the children of light, why do ye deceive your brethren and those who are placed under you? Why do ye lead them into error? What authority of Scripture has conferred on princes this prerogative in spiritual matters which ye are seeking to confer on them? Do not, my brethren, confound the rights of the monarchy and the Churrch. Their powers are distinct, and one of them derives its authority from the other. Read the Scriptures and ye will find how many kings have perished for usurping to themselves the sacerdotal office. Take heed to yourselves in your discretion lest the weight of the Divine arm fall on you for such a crime. If it so fall ye will not easily escape.

Consider, too, our lord the king; you are courting his favour at the expense of the Church: take care lest he perish (which God forbid!) with his whole house, as they have perished that have been found out in such iniquity. Unless he desist from his attempts with what conscience can we withhold punishment or dissemble his misdeeds? Let Him do so that hath

the power to cast a veil over sin, not I, lest such dissimulation recoil upon my own soul.

Ye hint in your letters, or rather you say openly, that I was raised to this dignity amid the clamours of the whole kingdom and the groans and the sorrow of the Church. Know ye what the Truth saith? "The mouth that knowingly speaks falsehood slayeth the soul." But the words of a priest ought ever to be accompanied by truth. Good God! would not one of the common people blush to say what you have said? Consult your own consciences, look at the form of election, the consent of all who were concerned therein, the consent of the king expressed through his son and through his emissaries, the consent of his son himself and of all the nobility of the kingdom. If anyone of them spoke against it, or opposed it in the least, let him speak who knows, let him proclaim it who is conscious of it. But if any individual thereby had a downfall let him not say that his private molestation was an injury done to the whole kingdom and to the Church. Remember, moreover, the letters of the king and your own letters how you all, with much urgency, demanded the pall and obtained it for me. This is the truth of the matter. But if anyone have felt envy, or been actuated by ambition if so peaceful, so lawful, and so unanimous an election hath grieved anyone's mind and led him to practice machinations by which things have become disturbed, may God induce him, as He would, to confess his error, may he not be ashamed to acknowledge the disquietude of his mind in the face of all men.

Ye say that the king raised me to honour from a mean estate. I am not indeed sprung from royal ancestors, but I would rather be the man to whom nobility of mind gives the advantages of birth than one in whom a noble ancestry degenerates. I was, perhaps, born beneath a humble roof; but by God's mercy, that knoweth how to deal graciously with his servants, and chooses the humble to confound the brave, even in my humble condition before I entered into God's service my way of life was sufficiently easy, sufficiently honourable, as ye yourselves know, even as that of the best among my neighbours and acquaintances, whosoever they might be. David also was taken from among the goats to become the ruler of God's people, and was exalted by his courage and glory because he walked in the ways of the Lord. Peter was taken from fishing to become the head of the Church, and, by shedding his blood for Christ, he was thought worthy to receive a crown in heaven, a name of honour upon earth. I pray that we also may do likewise; for we are the successors of S. Peter, not of Augustus. God knows with what eagerness the king himself wished my promotion. Let him consult his own intentions; they will best answer him; and we, too, will respond to the requirements of our duty, more faithfully by God's mercy in our severity than is done by those who flatter him with falsehoods. "For better are the stripes of a friend than the deceitful embraces of an enemy."

Ye throw out against us an imputation of ingratitude. But there is no mortal sin which entails

infamy on a man, unless it has proceeded from the intention. Thus, if one commit homicide unwillingly, though he is called a homicide, and is one, yet he does not incur the guilt of homicide. We apply the principle in this way: Though we owe obedience by the divine law to our lord the king, if we are bound to pay him respect by the royal prerogative, if we have checked him or warned him as a son with paternal love, if after warning we have grieved that he did not listen to us, and by the force of duty exercise towards him censure and severity, we believe that we are acting rather on his behalf and for his good, than in opposition to him; that we deserve praise at his hands rather than blame or the reproach of ingratitude. Certainly, benefits are often conferred on men against their will, and that man's safety is better regarded who is deterred from the perpetration of a crime by force even if he cannot in any other way. Besides, our Master and Patron, Christ Himself, exonerates us from the stamp of ingratitude. By His Father's prerogative we are bound to obey Him, and if we neglect this we shall be justly punished by being disinherited. A father can disinherit his son for a just cause: for He says, "If ye do not tell the wicked of his iniquity, and he die in his sin, I will require his blood at your hand." If, therefore, we do not convene him who sins, if we do not reprove him when he will not listen to us, and coerce him when he is pertinacious, we offend against the precept and are justly disinherited as guilty of disobedience. By his prerogative of being our patron we are held to

revere and to obey Him, because we are his freed men, for whereas we were slaves of sin we are become freed unto righteousness through his grace. As therefore we are bound to no other, but saving our allegiance to Him, if aught be done vexatiously against Him to the injury of his Church, if we do not punish the crime by exerting in his cause that solicitude which is incumbent on us, He will deservedly withdraw from us the benefits which He has heaped upon us, and thus we indeed show ourselves ungrateful.

Ye name to us the danger which will accrue to the Roman Church, the loss of her temporalities. This danger falls on us and on ours, but nothing is said of the danger to the soul. Ye hold over us a threat that our lord the king will withdraw (God forbid it!) from his allegiance and devotion to the Roman Church. God forbid, I say, that temporal gain or loss should ever cause our lord the king to fall back from his allegiance or devotion to the Church! This would be criminal and damnable even in a private man; how much more so in a prince who draws so many after him. God forbid that any of the faithful should ever entertain this thought, much less speak it, however humble he may be, not to say a bishop. . . . "

Ye reprove us for suspending our venerable brother the archbishop of Salisbury, and excommunicating John, the schismatic ex-dean; for inflicting punishment, as you say, before hearing the cause, or following the usual course of canonical judgments.

We answer that the sentence of both was just, the suspension of the one and the excommunication of the other. If you knew the whole course of the matter or rightly attended to the order of the judgments we think ye would alter your opinion. Such is the extent of authority, as ye ought to know, that in manifest and notorious crimes a hearing is not required. Consider diligently what was done by the bishop of Salisbury about the deanery after the prohibition, which our lord the pope and ourselves made under pain of excommunication; ye will then be able to judge whether the suspension did not ensue after an act of manifest disobedience. Wherefore the blessed Clement says, "If all of every degree, whether princes of inferior or superior rank and all the rest of the people, do not obey their bishops, they shall not only be branded with infamy, but cast out from God's kingdom and the company of the faithful, and banished from the threshold of God's holy Church."

As regards John of Oxford, we reply that different persons become excommunicated in different ways; some by the law which denounces them as excommunicate, others marked by a sentence, and others again by communicating with those who are excommunicate. Now John of Oxford fell into a damnable heresy by communicating with schismatics and with those whom our lord the pope had excommunicated, and so contracted in himself the taint of excommunication, which pollutes like a leprosy and involves the guilty and those who consent with them in the same

punishment. And whereas John, thus excommunicate, usurped the deanery of Salisbury contrary to the commands both of our lord the pope and of ourselves, expressed under pain of anathema, we have denounced him and excommunicated him, and hold him as utterly excommunicate.

To the fear of censure from us ye oppose an appeal, not of remedy but of impediment. We know that everyone who appeals does so in his own name or in the name of another. If in his own name, it is either against a censure already passed or one which he fears will be passed upon him. We are certain that no censure has been passed on you by us, thank God, which requires that ye should have recourse to an appeal, nor do we believe that there is any cause between us at present which especially concerns you. If ye have appealed from fear that censure will be passed upon you or your churches, consider whether your fears are such as ought to be entertained by men of courage and fortitude, whether it be an appeal which ought to suspend the authority and power which we have over you and your churches. It is thought by the well-informed, and we also think the same, that it is of no weight, both because it is destitute of form and because it is inconsistent with reason and utterly unsupported by all justice.

If ye have appealed in the name of another it must he in the name of the king or of some third party. If not of a third, it must be in the king's name. Wherefore ye ought to have known in your discretion that appeals were introduced to repel in-

juries, not to inflict them, to relieve the oppressed, not to oppress them more. If then a man appeals, not from confidence in the justice of his cause but for the sake of creating delay and that sentence may not pass against him, his appeal should not be listened to. . . .

We write thus to you, my brethren, not that ye may be put to confusion, but that when ye have read our letter and comprehended its import ye may the more boldly and freely do what duty bids you. May ye so act henceforth that we may the sooner have peace and the Church more ample liberty. Pray for us that our faith may not fail in tribulation, but that we say with the apostle, "Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor any other creature shall separate us from the love of God."

Farewell, all of you in the Lord; may the whole English Church remember us daily in their prayers.

[To this exhaustive explanation of the archbishop's position Foliot gave the following reply, which may be regarded as the manifesto of his party.]

1166.—The Bishop of London to the Archbishop.

Materials, v., p. 521. *Dr. Giles' Translation.*

To his venerable lord and father in Christ, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert, minister of the church of London, health.

Manifold and lengthy, my father, is the subject of your profound and copious letter, and however anxious we are to prosecute the appeal to our lord the pope, you compel us, almost of necessity, to write

again to your highness. For amid the shafts which you launch out at random on every side, you single me out from our whole fraternity as an object for reproach and cover me with abuse, though I have done nothing to deserve it. It is marvellous that a man of sober feeling, of a grave and reverend character—a professor bound by his episcopal station and by his doctrines to have regard to truth—should act so intemperately when the truth was told him; that he should not only have rejected the son who wished to advise his father, but have undeservedly ascribed his advice to a malicious feeling, of which he is himself unconscious. When, therefore, I am publicly charged with subverting the Church of God, confounding right and wrong, with insanely aiming to overthrow that mountain of the Church which is the pillar of the living God, with having been ambitious to possess what belongs to you, and when repulsed in my designs with having vented my malice in disturbing God's Church and your own, and with having turned my back in fighting the Lord's battles, it is difficult for me to keep silence lest I be supposed by the present generation to plead guilty to the charge, and posterity admit the accusation against me because it has never been refuted.

Now as cupidity is the root and origin of all evils I will begin with that, lest those who are easily led by others suppose that I am influenced thereby. The apostle says: "What man know the secrets of a man save the spirit of man that is within him?" The secret thoughts of a man are known to no man, but

only to the Lord of heaven. Things that are unknown cannot escape Him, nothing can be hidden from Him. The word of the Lord lives and is of power, it is sharper than the sharpest sword; nor is anything invisible in his sight. It is to Him and in His presence that I speak; before his tribunal my reply is given, and I say boldly and fearlessly, and with truth, as my conscience dictates, that no impulse of ambition has ever for a moment excited me to covet that power and station which belong to you. Never have I felt envy that another should enjoy that honour. Never have I courted anyone by gift, service, influence, or favour, that I might myself obtain it, or carve out for myself a guilty road to that eminence.

Who can know this better than you, my father, who at that time were archdeacon of that Church, and not the chosen counsellor merely of the king but his bosom friend, without whose aid it was absolutely impossible for any one to obtain promotion? What favour did I ever attempt to gain with you? Did I ever by gifts or services endeavour, directly or indirectly, to secure your good-will that I might obtain promotion by your intervention, which was, at that time, the only way? If this be true, it is but just to infer that I have acted with the same moderation towards others who might be supposed to possess less influence than you.

Thus, then, I sum up this business, and do not fear to take the burden of this accusation upon me; that I may have it laid up in store for me against the

great day of account, if my conscience convicts me in the smallest particular of being guilty of this crime. No, my father, it was not my own rejection that grieved me in your promotion. I did not seek on that day to advance my own interests, but those of Christ Jesus, and to give glory in all things, not to myself but to his name, and I grieved to see my endeavours baffled. When we saw the privileges of the Church subverted, right and wrong confounded, and the summit of that lofty mountain, of which you speak, humbled to the ground, when we saw that spouse of Christ shamefully deprived of the liberty which she had always before enjoyed, we groaned aloud in the Lord, and many of us immediately, by some influence of God's Spirit working in us, had a foretaste of the troubles which we are now suffering. We ought then to have remembered what is written; how difficult it is to bring to happy issue what has been ill begun. For if we look back at the beginning, who is there so dull in all our part of the world as not to know that you obtained the dignity of chancellor by sale for several thousand marks, and that by favour of this wind you found a haven in the Church of Canterbury, to the government of which you were at last promoted—whether canonically or not—whether by your merits or otherwise is known to many, and on the memories of all good men is written with the pen of sorrow.

Our good father, the late archbishop Theobald, of excellent memory, had descended to the grave, and you, who had your eyes open to this contingency,

came back with speed from Normandy to England. The king speedily sent that able nobleman and guardian of his kingdom, Richard de Lucy, whom you have now so meritoriously excommunicated; his instructions were that the monks of Canterbury and the suffragan bishops of that Church should elect you for their father and pastor without delay, otherwise they would anger, and speedily find by experience that he regarded them in the light of enemies. We know what we are saying, and you know it, too: for we anticipated that the Church was about to be smothered, and we in a manner raised our voice against it, for which we heard a sentence of proscription passed against us, and not only our own person, but our father's house, our friends and relations were doomed to banishment. Others also were made to drink from the same cup. It is written "The lion shall roar, who will not tremble?" and again "As the roaring of a lion, so is the terror of a king." But what the king himself commanded with so much earnestness, what he urged on by such powerful embassies, and you, as was known to all, were so bent upon, whilst all your friends and creatures were using threats, promises, and blandishments to promote it, who was there that dared to make opposition to it? who could resist this torrent of the will and of the royal mandate? The sword of state was in your hand, shedding terror on all whom you might view with an angry eye. It was the same sword which your own hand had plunged into the bosom of our holy mother Church, when you stripped her of so

many thousand marks to pay the expenses of the expedition to Toulouse. That you might not use it again to smite, she obeyed your orders, and to avoid what she feared, feigned acquiescence in what she loathed. O how averse were the hearts of all good men from the deed! how repugnant were their wishes! but what had been enjoined on us by such fierce threats, was hastened to its completion. Thus you entered into the sheep-fold by another way, and not through the gate, and by this invasion, my father, you took away from the Church the liberty which she had enjoyed for ages, yea, her very life, as you yourself express it, and so you have made her lifeless.

Let us pass in review what took place at Clarendon; where, for three whole days, the point was to obtain from us a promise to observe unconditionally the king's dignities and customs. We stood by you then, because we thought you were standing boldly in the Spirit of the Lord; we stood immovable, and were not terrified; we stood firm, to the ruin of our fortunes, to encounter bodily torment or exile; or, if God should so please, the sword. What father was ever better supported by his sons in adversity? who could be more unanimous than we? we were all shut up in one chamber, and on the third day the princes and nobles of the kingdom, bursting into fury, entered the conclave where we sat, threw back their cloaks, and holding forth their hands to us, exclaimed, "Listen, you who set at nought the king's statutes, and obey not his commands: these

hands, these arms, these bodies of ours, are not ours, but king Henry's, and they are ready at his nod to avenge his wrongs, and to work his will whatever it may be. Whatever are his commands, they will be law and justice in our eyes: retract these counsels then, and bend to his will, that you may avoid the danger before it is too late?" What was the result of this? Did anyone turn his back to flee? was anyone's resolution shaken? Your letter, my father, reproaches me with having turned my back in the day of battle; with having neither gone up to the strife, nor placed myself as a wall of defence before the house of the Lord. Let God judge between us; let Him judge in whose cause we then stood; in his cause we were not bent by the threats of princes; let Him say who it was that fled, that became a deserter in the battle, for it assuredly was not that noble champion in God's cause, Henry of Winchester, nor Nigel of Ely, nor Robert of Lincoln, nor Hilary of Chichester, nor Jocelin of Salisbury, nor Bartholomew of Exeter, nor Richard of Chester, nor Roger of Worcester, nor Robert of Hereford, nor Gilbert of London. All these were found to stand firm; but there was no one found who dared to smite them; they accounted temporal things as dross, and exposed themselves without fear for Christ and for his Church. Let the truth then be told, let the light of day be thrown on what was then done in presence of us all. It was the leader of our chivalry himself who turned his back, the captain of our camp who fled: his lordship of

Canterbury himself withdrew from our fraternity, and from our determination; and, after holding counsel apart for a while, he returned to us, and said aloud, "It is the Lord's will that I should perjure myself; for the present I submit and incur injury; to repent of it, however, as I best may." We were thunderstruck at these words, and gazed one upon the other, groaning in spirit at the fall of one whom we had thought a champion of virtue and constancy. There is no such thing as yea nay with the Lord, nor did we anticipate that his disciple was so easily to be turned.

When the head faints, the other members faint also, and speedily suffer from its weakness. Our lord of Canterbury himself acceded to the king's royal dignities and constitutions when they were reduced to writing, and when he had himself promised to observe them commanded us to bind ourselves by a like engagement. Thus was a finish put to the contention, and the priesthood reconciled with the throne. Thus Israel went down into Egypt, from whence we read that he afterwards came out with glory. And we also had hopes that when our lord the king's mind was tranquillized we might restore things to their former state; but the old enemy was envious of our tranquility whilst it was still recent, and we had hardly entered the harbour ere we were again compelled to put to sea. The promise that you would not leave the kingdom without the king's consent was still fresh upon your lips, and the words of a priest should always be the companions of truth. But lo! within a few days you

spread your sail to the winds, and essayed to flee the realm, though when the king heard of it, no one was more surprised than he, no one grieved more at this deviation of a priest from his plighted word. For he knew the scandal that would be created against himself, and the attack that would be made among foreign nations upon his reputation, hitherto unstained. What, indeed, could those who were unacquainted with the truth suppose, save that his unchristian malice had led him to expel Christ's priest? He would rather have been wounded in his person by your hand than suffer this blemish upon his fame. But the wind was adverse, and you were driven back to port; yet thus in the king's power did you receive injury from his hand or insult from his lips? Far from it; he received you with courtesy and sent you back among your own people.

This storm had hardly ceased to blow, and our minds were scarcely tranquillised ere another convulsion shook us. You received a royal mandate to do justice to one who had a claim upon your Church. But this suitor waited in vain for justice, and returned disappointed to the king. His majesty espoused the suitor's part, and cited you to appear and render in his presence the justice which you had denied to his written mandate. To this citation you did not listen, but returned an answer that declared your disobedience. The king, whose power was thus outraged, convoked a council at Northampton. The people came together as one man: the nobles and elders heard the king, whilst, with becoming moderation,

he described your disobedience to his summons. But you at once acknowledged the charge without waiting for the counsel of your bishops, and you gave as your reason that the suitor John had sworn, not upon the gospels but on a book of tropes. All then agreed that this was not a valid cause for neglecting the king's summons, and that it was customary in such matters for a fine to be adjudged to the king subject to his mercy. Your highness bowed to the sentence and gave bail for the full amount, without considering the canon, "No bishop shall be cited before a civil or military judge in any cause, either criminal or civil," and again "A clerk impleaded before a secular judge, shall not answer to the plea"; nor that rescript of Gelasius to bishop Helpidius, "How dare you write that you are preparing to set out for Ravenna, when the canons forbid your going for that purpose, without first seeing or consulting us?"

Would to God that the matter could have ended with this humble-mindedness, and that when the king claimed from you the money which you owed him, and sought nothing but his due, you had then been less ready to rise in indignation against it. What harm could it have done you to reply to this question? The king transferred you from the court to the government of the Church, and by so doing, as most men think, released you from all former obligations; but if this does not apply to debts, an exception might here have taken, and if there were any points which could not well be reduced to calcu-

lation compensation might have been made, for the king was actuated, not by avarice, but by anger, and so this civil question might most creditably have been settled.

But you say it is an unheard of thing that an archbishop of Canterbury should answer to such things in the king's court; and you may say that no one ever before heard of an officer of the king's court having so suddenly mounted to so high a dignity—that he should one day be following his hounds and hawks, and the next be bending at the altar and ministering in sacred things before all the bishops of the kingdom.

Thus then you adopted a hostile course, for you entered the king's house carrying your own cross, and created in the minds of men a suspicion of foul conduct from the king. But his long-suffering declared how admirable was his integrity and his innocence; he was offended at your carrying the cross, but his offence exceeded not the bounds of moderation; he endeavoured to terminate his just claims within the bounds of justice. But you appealed from the judgment to the Pope, and thus in the issue as in the outset his modesty and his toleration were conspicuous. The voice of paternal love once cried out, "Save Absalom, save the boy Absalom," and so also the voice of his heralds proclaimed aloud that the sword of public justice should overtake anyone who dared to injure you. This was not all, for as if your life were in danger, you fled by night in disguise, and escaped by sea out of the kingdom, though no one

was pursuing you, and you chose out a residence for a time in a foreign country; from which you now attempt to steer that vessel of the Church which you left without a pilot amid the waves. You call on us to turn to you to save ourselves, to encounter death with you in the cause of Christ's Church. Truly, if we consider what treasures are in store for us in heaven we shall have no regard for the things of earth. "For tongue cannot tell nor the mind understand" the joys of the heavenly city, to join the company of the angels, and with the blessed spirits to sing the praises of the Creator, to look upon His countenance, and free from the fear of death to glory for ever in immortality. "The sufferings of this world are nothing in comparison to the future glory which shall be revealed in the saints." "Our momentary tribulations here will work out for us hereafter an exceeding weight of glory." All this, my father, I have long cherished in my bosom; all this has long been the subject of my aspirations. This head, which still rests upon my shoulders, should long ago have fallen by the sword of the executioner to ensure the favour of God upon my earthly pilgrimage. But it is the cause and not the stroke which makes the martyr; to suffer persecution for holiness is glorious, for obstinacy or perverseness it is ignominious. It is victorious to die for Christ, but to provoke death is madness; and if we weigh our deeds as well as our words, my father, we shall not hastily provoke martyrdom. For you bent the knee at Clarendon, and took to flight at Northampton; you clothed yourself

in the dress of disguise and escaped beyond the frontiers of the land. What did you gain by this? Why, you showed your anxiety to escape that death, with which no one condescended to threaten you. With what effrontery then, father, do you invite us to meet death, which you, by such palpable means, so studiously avoided? What charity is it to place on us a burden which you threw off from your own shoulders? The sword hangs over us, from which you escaped and which you try to repulse with missiles, never daring to advance to close encounter. Perhaps you wish us to flee also. Alas! the sea is closed against us since your escape, and every port blockaded. Islands are a king's safest prisons, from which it is difficult to depart, and almost impossible to do so privily. If we fight, it must be hand to hand; if we join battle with the king, his sword will cross our own in the fight, and if we give a wound we may expect another in return. Are your revenues so dear to you that you would spill the blood of us who are your brethren to recover them? Yet even the Jews spurned the money which Judas brought back because it was the price of blood. But you have another motive. Pause we here then and consider what are your motives for counselling us to die. Blessed be God, it is no schism of faith between us, no question about the holy sacraments, nor of morals; our faith thrives with the king, the bishops, and their people. All the articles of our creed are adhered to by the clergy of his kingdom. No one has failed in his obedience to the holy pontiff, the sacraments of

the Church are respected by all, and all join devoutly in communion. In our morals, indeed, we all go astray daily; but no one boasts of his errors or defends them, but all hope by repentance to be washed clean from their acknowledged sins. The whole strife therefore is with the king for certain constitutions of his ancestors which he wishes to be observed towards himself. Your highness has admonished him, but he will renounce what long usage has sanctioned. This is why you have recourse to arms, and you are holding the sword ready to fall upon his hallowed head, though it was not he who propounded these constitutions but his ancestors, as the voice of the whole kingdom certifies. The tree which has been long planted, and shot its roots deeply, is with difficulty uprooted; and if we attempt by force to transplant it, it withers away. It must first be dug around and the earth be thrown out until the root is laid bare, and thus patience will effect what cannot be attained by violence. We should take example from the good men who have preceded us and see how they acted. Your predecessor, Saint Austin, eradicated many enormities from this kingdom, and when he converted the king made him abandon many depraved laws and customs, not by heaping maledictions upon him but by giving him his blessing and by exhorting him to good works.

In our own times John of Crema, who was sent into these parts by the Roman Church, changed many customs, in which all his life had been spent. This he effected, not by maledictions or by threats,

but by sound doctrine and by holy exhortations, and as he had sowed in blessings, in blessings did he reap. If all these men had taken up arms, their success would have been small, if any.

The pious king of the Franks long desired to have a son; and when Heaven at last granted what he prayed for, many grievances which antiquity had sanctioned were nevertheless abolished at the suggestion, as they tell us, of the Church, which admonished, but never uttered threats against its sovereign. But who can enumerate the dignities, privileges, immunities, and possessions which pious princes have bestowed upon the Church of God? The time would fail me: suffice it to say, that such bouuty is the noblest prerogative of kings. The humble obtain from them what is never conceded to the haughty. Money is to them trifling and of no value, yet whoever tries to take it from them by violence will find to his cost that the possessors can stoutly defend that to which they had attached so little value. You should have handled such concerns as these, not with the ardour of a novice, but with mature deliberation and the advice of your brethren and others: you should have turned to the acts of the old fathers, and weighed the gains of the Church against her losses; and should not have taken a decided part, until you saw that there was no remedy remaining, and when at last your decision was given, you should have reflected who was the object of it, what were your motives, and what would be the evil or the good that would result to the Church from it. The object of your canonical

censures is a sovereign, who even at this moment is hardly detained by the dearest ties of wife and children, and so many kingdoms that obey his rule, from taking up his cross and going a pilgrim to see the place where our Lord lay, thereby fulfilling that saying, "He that carrieth not his cross and followeth me is not worthy of me." Yet this is he whose obstinacy of mind, whose cruelty and malignity towards God's Church you lay so much stress on, and prepare to visit with excommunication. If you were to execute this threat the Church of God would be wounded in her noblest part, and whole nations, not one or two individuals only, would groan beneath the stroke. Mercy must be blended with severity, that charity may step in and heal our wounds, for correction can never be salutary when the object of it has numbers associated with him. What physician ever gains applause by healing one sore if he opens another still more dangerous? Is it the part of discretion, in order to effect an object that could have been better accomplished in another way, to desert one's flock, to rebel against the sovereign, to disturb the peace of the Church throughout the whole kingdom, and to neglect the salvation of the souls of the people? Saint Ambrose abandoned his possessions, but would not abandon his Church. Your prudence might have hoped for anything from a prince whom you know to be so zealous in the cause of Christ.

What advantage could he expect from these earthly constitutions, when it was well known that the world and all it can offer had lost its charms for

him? Ought we not to have waited till Christ's spirit was fully fledged in him that so he might have resigned to us not only the constitutions in question, but many more with lavish hand have been showered upon us? In this I speak only what I know. Our lord the king would not have cared for those dignities and constitutions, but for two reasons only. He thought it would be a reproach to him if he should allow the crown to suffer loss and diminution of the honours which had been handed down to him by his ancestors; and secondly, though he might give up anything for his God, he would nevertheless blush to have it taken from him by violence. But he had already trodden underfoot the first of these motives, and the fear of God, his natural goodness of heart, the admonition of the pope, and the united prayers of many had already produced such an effect upon him, that out of reverence for Him who has exalted him above all his predecessors he wished to call together the Church of God, and to alter and modify those constitutions by which they felt so much aggrieved. And if the humble-mindedness which began to show itself in you had but lasted, the Church would at this moment have been in the possession of widely extended tranquillity and rejoicing. For all that you had aimed at was already gained by entreaty, but all was again defeated by the disturbance which you began. For whilst he was preparing to lead his army against the Britons, who had not yet bowed to his sovereignty, but were indomitably lifting up their heel against him, you sent him those

terrible letters savouring neither of the affection of a father nor the modesty of a bishop; and all that had been done by the admonition of the holy pontiff, and the entreaties of so many persons, was at once destroyed by your threats. Thus you have again made our king and kingdom a scandal to the world worse than it was before.

May God avert the evil which we fear, if this state of things continues; at least, may it not happen in these our times! To ensure which desirable consummation, for the honour of God, the benefit of the Church, and your own, my father, if so please you, for the sake of peace, and putting a stop to the scandals and disturbances which are so rife amongst us, we have appealed to our lord the pope, that we may check, at least for a time, that fury which impels you on against the king and his kingdom. And it will be well if you contain your zeal within moderate bounds, lest by rejecting our appeal you be found to despise the authority of the pope as well as the rights of kings. May it please you to remember that our Lord made Zaccheus descend from the sycamore tree before He would enter into his house, and thus should you also condescend and strive to pacify the king whom you have offended, by offering to give him satisfaction even though you may have suffered at his hands. Our Lord told His disciples to imitate the example of a child, who though wronged is not angry and soon forgets an injury, but compensates for all by the innocence and happiness of his life. An extraodinary model of perfection

we have in Him Who pardons those who punish themselves, Who orders us to love our enemies and persecutors, and to forgive our brother, not for seven, but for seventy times seven offences. What might not be expected from such humility at the hands of our lord the king? Such a course would have been like the straight way, leading directly to peace; when you once enter upon it, my father, you may hope to arrive at peace and to fill with joy and gladness that which is now covered with the clouds of sorrow; whilst from our religious and beloved king you will gain all that you are aiming at, and even more than all, through the grace of God's Holy Spirit filling his mind, and bringing it ever nearer and nearer to the knowledge of Himself.

1166.—John of Salisbury on the Appeal.

Materials, vol. vi., p. 13. *In the main Dr. Giles's translation.*

The consolatory letters which your faithful children, the bishops of the province of Canterbury, lately sent you, after your long exile and proscription, I have carefully perused, and I look upon them as dictated by Achitophel himself come up from below for the destruction of the faithful, and written by a second Doeg of Edom, thirsting for the blood of Christ and His elect. Everything is therein so perverted that it is easy for any one to see how irreconcileable they are with public opinion and the voice of truth, and how manifestly they have been framed to give a colour of justice to the appeal of the bishops. Solomon says, in the Proverbs, that "the end of a

speech is better than the beginning" ; but in this case it is most assuredly worse : they begin with "health and obedience," and I could have wished that the salutation had been sincere, and that they had not offended against God's commands by speaking peace with their lips and bearing malice in their hearts. Then follows a plausible history, which a condemned criminal would be glad to listen to in commutation of his sentence, in which they justify their conduct, calling good evil and evil good, and seem to draw the inference, that whoever resists a king deserves death. They say, Heaven knows with what truth, "we do not assert that our lord the king has never erred, but we say and assert with confidence, that he has always been ready to make atonement to the Lord for what he may have done amiss." Must not their face be as that of an harlot, and their forehead harder than adamant, to assert so confidently the innocence of one whose malice is so notorious to all Christendom? The bishops of London and Hereford, it is said, called him to account, and he told them he would listen to reason ; but was not this bishop of London the man who first rent the unity of the Church in England, and laid the foundation for all these disturbances? Does not the letter exhibit all the malice of Achitophel and Doeg, with the addition of his own, in which he is inferior to neither of them? "His speech bewrays him." I do not mind what he says about your entrance upon the episcopal office, because I was present and saw what happened. He was the only person who objected to

your promotion, because, as may be shown in many ways, he aspired more than all the others to the station which you occupy. Yet he did not dare to murmur long, because the others checked his ambition and his impudence. Whatever then might be his feeling, which God alone can judge, he was one of the foremost in electing you, and applauding the choice more than any one. What shall I say about him of Hereford?—only that he for a very long time remained with only a shadow of a reputation, and that not a great one, before he was known at last to the world. And now, because he is supposed to be learned by those who know no more of learning than they do of him, they try to make him a veil for their own malice, that their own conduct may be thought reasonable, because it is approved of by a bishop and an elder. To reply to both these, or to acquiesce in their united opinion, is to adopt altogether the opinion of the bishop of London, according to what was said of Cæsar and Bibulus:

> Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare gestum est
> Nam Bibulo gestum consule nil memini.
>
> It was not Tosspot's deed but Cæsar's own,
> For I can mind naught done while Tosspot ruled.

With what effrontery can the bishops state that the king thinks compliance sweet when he is admonished of his errors? All the world knows how impatient he is of correction, how he persecutes the Church, and prefers his own ordinances to the holy canons. To say nothing of you and your

clerks, has he not unjustly proscribed women, children, and infants, all driven by his insane cruelty to the extremity of destitution and suffering? He has revived the schism of the Church, which had almost died away, and resuscitated the storm by which the apostolic ship is almost overwhelmed. If men can look on these things as nothing, what do they consider as acts of guilt? All these things need no proof, but are as clear as the light of day, and the Church feels it by her daily sufferings. If the king deems "compliance sweet" when he is admonished, what traitors must they be who suffer their lord, for whom they are responsible, to offend so enormously? O Israel, thy prophets are like foxes in the desert! our pastors are weaving a web to the destruction of the Church; they preface their wiles by a humble salutation of devout obedience, and their arguments with "Crucify Him! crucify Him! Do not save Him, but Barabbas!" This is the health, this the obedience which they offer to their father; this their mode of effecting peace between the throne and altar. I have no doubt that all who know of our exile are acquainted with these things as well as I; but when I reflected on their impudence, treachery, deceit, and lying, I could not resist alluding to the subject, for—

> Si natura negat, facit indignatio verbum
> Omne in præcipiti vitium stetit.
> Nature is dumb, but indignation speaks
> When vice thus stands aloft.

Their depravity is so great that all the subtilities

and refinements of posterity will be unable to add anything to it. But no more of this; may God requite them, and unless truth has been turned into falsehood and falsehood into truth, He will most assuredly requite them according to their deserts.

Your reply to their malicious letter is, I think, most elegant and most judicious; you have most ably shaken to pieces the wiles which they had spun. Your letter is certainly long, but it contains no more than was necessary. I wish, however, you had been more particular in pointing out the patience which you have so long manifested, and your anxiety to re-establish peace: how you addressed a letter to the king with all humility, and how afterwards the pope's messenger, as well as your own, the king's own mother, to whom he ought to have listened, several of the bishops, both Norman and English, Templars, Hospitallers, and the king of the Franks himself, interceded for you; and lastly, how you sought an interview yourself and were repulsed. But the bishops write next, that the king has always been ready to listen to justice and to do what justice demands. Now my advice to you is, to summon all the bishops, and especially those who sent this letter, his lordship of Salisbury, who complains of being unjustly suspended, and him of your own creation, the Bishop of Worcester, and all the rest, and put this assertion of the king's willingness to the test. Perhaps they will not come: if so, an appeal will not justify disobedience, but your cause will be justified, because their falsehood and malice will be revealed. I cannot

believe that all the bishops and clergy have consented to this nefarious act: in so great a Church of eighteen dioceses there are surely ten persons for whose sake God will spare the island, and save it from sharing the fate of its sisters, whose luxury and impiety it is imitating. There is silence, I admit, but surely there are many, who in piety, faith, and the consciousness of good works, are awaiting the kingdom of heaven. Joseph was found in the house of Pharoah, Lot in Sodom, Daniel in Babylon, Obadiah in the palace of Ahab and Jezabel, and they kept silence because they could do no good by speaking.

It would be wise, therefore, if the gulf which is fixed so widely between us and our country allow it, to send your letter to all the bishops and churches, and so confirm the waverers, and stir up all to feeling. Urge each of them mildly and gently, by frequent letters, to return to a sense of their duty: but above all, be cautious that you show no sign of arrogance or want of moderation. I have heard that the bishop of Hereford was formerly, in the schools, as eager of praise as he was a despiser of money. Perhaps nothing would have so much influence on him as a letter from the prior of S. Victor's, and the other masters of schools and religious who were once so intimate with him in France. Let them exhort him by letter to show himself a bishop such as he used formerly to describe a bishop in the schools, and to redeem his fame by casting off the vices which he then censured. The same plan may be followed with the bishop of Worcester. However, I have no

great hopes of them, nor do I anticipate much good from the king of the Franks, when it comes to the worst; but you must consider this, like all the rest, said to you in confidence. I do not place much reliance on the court of Rome: whose necessities and mode of acting I now see through. Our lord the pope indeed is a holy and righteous man, and the lord Albert, as I am told by many, does his best to imitate him; but their necessities are so great, and the dishonesty and cupidity of the Romans are so startling, that the pope sometimes uses his prerogative, and by dispensation obtains what may befit the state, but cannot benefit religion. I fear you will have to wait till the appeal day, and then I apprehend presents will have their weight, and the givers will expect something in return. The times are very bad, and the circumstances of all parties create apprehension. Our enemies, who are the enemies of Christ and His church, are resolved to wound us out of what has been despoiled from us. If it were not so, they might, out of regard to their own ease, be really zealous in making peace for us. This is only an aggravation to their malice, that they are enjoying their pleasures and rolling in wealth, whilst all the toil and hardships fall on us. The aid of man is denied us: let us pray to God that He may save us from these evils, present and to come, and cover us with the shield of His mercy.

[On Nov. 11, 1166, (Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II.*, p. 101), Becket left Pontigny in consequence of King Henry's threats against the Cistercian order, and went, by the invitation of

Louis VII, to Sens, where he took up his abode at the abbey of S. Colombe. Before long emissaries from Henry to the Pope were able to procure the suspension of the Archbishop's powers, the absolution of John of Oxford, and the appointment of a legatine commission, consisting of Cardinals William of Pavia and Otto of Ostia, to try the case].

1166.—The King of England's letter to a certain Cardinal or to the Congregation of Cardinals.

Materials, vi., p. 78. *In the main Dr. Giles's translation.*

It is our wish to continue in favour and love with our lord the Pope, if he will have the same regard towards us, whether as concerns our person or dignity, which his predecessors had towards my ancestors. He says that we prevent appeals being made from our kingdom to the Roman court, but we wish your prudence to be informed that we have never thrown impediments in the way of appeals being made, as they were made of old in the time of our ancestors, according to the customs and dignities of our kingdom, as the ancients and learned men of our kingdom, both clerks and laics, having received them. Whereas he accuses me of having corresponded with excommunicates, we do not think that we have in this offended God, or acted contrary to reason; for, as we heard from our lord the Pope's own mouth, he never looked on the emperor Frederic as excommunicated; and whereas we have given our daughter in marriage to his son, we have no doubt that we have acted lawfully, for our grandfather Henry gave his daughter also in marriage to Henry the Emperor, of excellent memory, and we, by the advice of our councillors, have followed his example.

Moreover, he has written to us that we should recall the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he says we have banished, and reinstate him in his See. Now we wish your fraternity clearly to understand that we did not banish him; but it was his own perversity and folly which led him to flee of his own accord, and to do all he could to derogate from my honour, and to injure me. But if the same archbishop is willing to return, and to pay me that obedience which is due to his lord and king, we also, with the consent of our people on both sides of the sea, will act towards him as we ought. But we will not recall him, for we have never banished him. Also we will, with the consent of our clergy and barons, willingly redress whatever we have done amiss; but if anyone attempts to impede or abate the rights, customs, and dignities of our sovereignty, we will hold him as a public enemy, for we will not put up with any diminution of dignities and customs which we have received from our predecessors of excellent memory, as they were in the days of former Roman pontiffs.

Lastly, whereas he has informed us through you that we do afflict, or cause to be afflicted, certain ecclesiastical persons in our dominions; God is our witness, and our own conscience, that we have never done so even to this day, nor have we allowed the same to be done by others.

[On Dec. 1, 1166, the pope addressed a letter to the "Clergy of England" in answer to the appeal, and on Dec. 20 to the king, announcing that he had appointed legates to hear the

cause between king, archbishop, and bishops, with powers to adjudicate and absolve. At the same time he restrained the archbishop from the exercise of all powers of censure until the decision of the case.—*Materials*, vi., p. 84. In the following letter he announced the legation to Becket himself.]

1166.—The Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury, announcing the appointment of a legation.

Materials, vi., p. 123. *Dr. Giles's translation.*

That we do not oftener visit you with our letters, my brother, proceeds from this circumstance, that we communicate with you through your envoys, to whom we impart matters that we do not choose to commit to writing. We now wish to notify to your discretion that, in our desire to make peace, we have despatched our beloved sons, William cardinal of S. Peter's and Otto of S. Nicolas, to our dear son in Christ, Henry king of the English, to discharge the legatine office in his territories on this side of the water; and especially to endeavour to effect a reconciliation between you and the aforesaid king. Wherefore as we value your peace and that of the Church, and wish only to provide for the interests of the Church at large, we ask of you, and enjoin you by apostolical authority, to consider how much the Church committed to your care requires your presence and superintendence, and strive to your utmost that peace may be re-established between you and the king, consistently with your own honour and the credit of the Church. And if everything does not turn out to your wishes, yet bear with it for the present, that at a future time you may be enabled,

with God's assistance, to restore things to their former state. And do not take occasion from what we have intimated to our dearest son in Christ, the king of France, to throw any impediment in the way of peace, so long as you can preserve your honour therein, as we before said, and the credit of the Church. For you will have abundant opportunity hereafter, if you use discretion, to abolish many things which if now mentioned would be at once invested with importance. You may confide in the cardinals above-named without reserve, and without doubting in the goodwill of William of Pavia; for we have strictly commanded him to do all he can to make your peace, and he has given his promise therein, so that we can in no wise doubt his word. For the rest, we request and advise you, my brother, to apply to the illustrious count of Flanders on our behalf and admonish him, in consideration of the Church's necessities and our own, that he cannot confer more acceptable alms than by giving us his worthy assistance at present to defend the liberties of the Church.

1167.—The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope.

Materials vi., p. 154. *Dr. Giles's translation.*

We hereby send to your holiness the bearer of this letter, who for his station in life is very intimate with us, and for his great talent, a man of fidelity and capacity. We pray your mercy to hear him in our behalf, for our miserable condition is become wearisome, perhaps even loathsome to our friends, and, as

some tell us they imagine by your silence, à subject for contempt with your holiness. Even our enemies, cannot but look upon us with compassion. Rise, my lord, I pray you, and make no longer tarrying: let the light of your countenance shine upon us: save us and our wretched companions in exile, for we are perishing. Let us not be put to shame among men: our adversaries insult us and Christ's Church; let us not be brought to contempt among the people, when we have invoked you by name, holy father, to watch over us, but by the name of the Lord Jesus, earn for yourself a name for ever, and restore your endangered reputation; depressed as it is in France by the return of that excommunicate and false schismatic John of Oxford, and the vaunts which he has promulgated. God knows that I am speaking the truth: if you do not believe me, ask those in France, who are most zealous of your honour, and most desirous to promote the advantage of the Church. Your reputation, I say, is at stake; your reputation which has hitherto passed without spot or blemish among mankind, and been preserved harmless through all dangers, when everything else has been polluted. Let your authority resume its force, and go forth, my father, so that that prate-apace may be confounded, and may acknowledge that he has spread what is false, promulgating lies. Let him feel your severity, for he has cut off all hope of forgiveness; let him feel your vengeance, for he has abused your kindness: let the world be told that he has found Christ's Vicar founded on a rock not easy to be moved, that he is not a

reed as the malignants whisper, but the upholder of equity and justice ; not an accepter of persons, not a favourer of either party in his judgment, but a dispenser of justice equally to the king and to the peasant. God bless your holiness, that it may be well with us and our wretched companions in exile.

[At this time owing to the successes of the Imperial army in Italy the Pope was in the greatest distress, and for some time seemed to be ready to agree entirely to all that was desired by Henry II., who through his alliance with the Lombard cities and the house of Montferrat was able to be of great assistance to the Pope in Italy. The following dates will show the effect of the Italian situation on Becket's position.

1167.—In the spring Alexander fled from Rome.

May 1.—The Legates left for France.

June 17.—The Pope gave permission to Roger of York to crown the king's son.—(See below).

August 1.—Frederick was crowned in Rome and Paschal III. enthroned. But in the same month a pestilence broke out among the German soldiers, and early in September the army was in full flight for the frontier.

August 22.—Alexander wrote (from Benevento) to his legates to confirm the excomunication issued by Becket, the effect of which he had formerly suspended.

The legates arrived in Gaul, apparently, in October.]

June 17, 1167. Leave to crown the young King.

Alexander III. to Roger ab. of York. Materials, vi. p. 206.

Since through our dearest son Henry, the illustrious king of the English, great help and favours are known to have come to the Church in this extremity of need, and as we love him with the more affection for the constancy of his affection and hold him dearer to our heart, so do we the more freely and eagerly desire all

such things as lend to the honour, the profit, and the exaltation of himself and all that is his. Hence it is that, at his request, we by the authority of the blessed Peter and our own, and by the counsel of our brethren, grant that our dearly loved son Henry, the said king's eldest son, may be crowned in England.

Since therefore this pertaineth to your office we command you by apostolic letter that when you shall be requested by the father our son the king you shall place the crown upon the head of their said son, by the authority of the apostolic See; and what shall be therein done by you we decree to remain valid and firm. You shall further show to him due subjection and reverence in all things, saving his father's commands, and shall admonish others to show the same.

[Cardinal William wrote a conciliatory letter to Thomas, to which the archbishop returned a sharp answer. Two letters from him and William of Pavia of about this date are found, both probably drafts. John of Salisbury (*Materials*, vi., pp. 217 and 220) strongly disapproved of their tone. The earlier (*Materials*, vi., p. 208) was almost certainly not sent, nor is it certain that even the latter was despatched.]

Nov. 18, 1167. The meeting between the Legates and the Archbishop.

Herbert of Bosham, *Materials*, iii, p. 409.

They came to us at Sens, and before they went to the king because it lay on the way . . . And when they arrived they explained the cause of their coming, the which pleased us, for it was that they might make peace between us and the king to the honour of God and saving the liberty of the Church.

And they journeying to the king, having come into Normandy (for the king was then beyond sea, outside the kingdom), made no short stay with the king, neither returning to us nor telling us how they proceeded. For this alone did the king seek, as was said and as the event proved, in some way or other to occupy the time, having no wish for peace with us though he pretended to desire it. But the cardinals, lest they should seem to have altogether in vain again and again spoke of peace with the king, sedulously and attentively treating of peace, seeking peace, but the way of peace have they not found. At last, lest they should appear to have come in vain and to have done nothing, they call us to a conference. And a conference was held between us and them on the frontiers of France and Normandy, between two castles, that is Trie and Gisors. In the night before the conference the archbishop saw in a dream, as he told us the next morning on our way to the place of meeting, that someone offered him poison in a golden cup. And so it happened. For one of the cardinals, the aforesaid William of Pavia, a man elegant in eloquence and having persuasive words, made us sweet and pleasant speeches concerning peace. And they seemed on the surface to be good words and pacific, yet if one looked more nearly they derogated not a little from the peace and freedom of the Church. . . . . To sum up all in one word the sum of the cardinals' counsels was—and in every sort of way they endeavoured it—that, without any mention by king or archbishop of the

customs for opposing which we had been exiled, the archbishop should return to his church, if indeed such terms could be obtained from the king. For they said that anything expressed would be harmful and a stumbling block in the way of peace. For, so they added, it were base and unseemly for the king so manifestly and expressly to renounce those customs which had been declared by the most aged and noble of his realm, and also by the bishops and even by ourselves to belong to the royal dignity. "For if," they added, "the king should grant you peace without mention either of retaining or abolishing the customs, they are thereby understood to be abolished; especially since on them was so hard a contest between you and the king and they were the entire subject of the disagreement. Wherefore if the king grants you peace, and you neither concede them, nor bind yourself to observe them, they are thereby understood to be made void, and you have won your cause—for the king will thus, though not expressly, yet tacitly, be understood to have consented to their abolition." And they gave an example, that when a bishop promoted anyone to sacred orders although he did not mention it, yet tacitly he became bound to celibacy. And they gave many other examples, being men learned both in the divine and human law, according to which laws speak of consent both expressed and also tacit.

We on the other side sought an express abolition of the custom and that the document as written down should be declared void. Otherwise nothing would

be done for our peace or that of the Church. . . To which effect speak many of the canons; as this "He who does not oppose when he can is taken to have consented." . . . . The cardinals, one of whom was throughout entirely in the king's favour, proposed to us this form of peace, so that they might thus excuse the king as if it were not through him that peace was not made, and also that it might not appear that they had done nothing. Wherefore, without making peace, rather without hope of any peace being made through them, we departed from them and they speedily returned to the king.

Nov. 29, 1167.—Letter to the Archbishop from a friend at Court, describing the interview between the King and the Legates.

Materials vi., p. 270. Dr. Giles's translation.

On the following day, after mass, they were invited at an early hour to wait upon the king, and entered the audience-chamber in company with the archbishops, bishops, and abbats, who were admitted. After they had been closeted about two hours they came out, and the king followed them as far as the outer door of the chapel, where he turned round and said aloud in their hearing, "I hope to God I may never again set eyes on a cardinal!" He then dismissed them with so much haste, that though their quarters were not far off, there was no time for them to get their own horses, but they were obliged to take the first that they could find waiting on the spot. There were only four persons at the utmost

who came out with the cardinals: the others, archbishops, bishops, and abbats were still in council with the king, where they remained until a late hour in the evening: after which they came out and rejoined the cardinals, all of them evidently in great dismay. When they had remained in their company for some time they separated and returned to their lodgings. The next morning the prelates and the others were with the king until twelve o'clock, and then went backwards and forwards from the king to the cardinals, and from the cardinals to the king, carrying private messages from one to the other.

On the following day, which was S. Andrew's eve, the king rose at an early hour, and went off with his hounds and hawks, intentionally, as it was reported, that he might absent himself from the cardinals. The bishops met early at the royal chapel, and from thence adjourned to the audience-chamber: where they held council together without the king, and then went to the church, which was near the cardinal's hotel. There were present the archbishops of Rouen and York, the bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Bayeux, London, Chichester, and others, also several abbats, and a large number both of the clergy and laity. The cardinals having been invited to attend and hear what was proposed, entered and took their seats: whereupon the bishop of London rose, and betrayed his agitation by the rapid and inelegant style of his address: he spoke thus, "You have heard that we have received letters from our lord the pope, and that they are in our possession at this

moment: wherein the pope commanded us to meet you when you should summon us, and he stated that you had full powers to decide the cause which is pending between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, and between us, the bishops of England, and the same archbishop. In consequence of these instructions we no sooner heard of your arrival in these parts than we came to meet you, ready to plead or be impleaded, and to leave the cause to your decision. Our lord the king also offers to abide by whatever sentence you may choose to pronounce between him and our lord of Canterbury. Since, therefore, neither the king nor we have thrown difficulties in the way of the pope's mandate, let the blame rest on the shoulders of those who deserve it. Meanwhile, however, as the archbishop does everything precipitately, and strikes without notice, and excommunicates without warning; we have, therefore, appealed to the pope in order to avoid a sudden and unexpected sentence. We already once before made an appeal to his holiness: we now renew it, and all England joins in it! His lordship then explained the grounds of quarrel between you and the king: "His majesty claims of the archbishop 44,000 marks of silver, on account of the revenues which were committed to his keeping when he was chancellor, and the archbishop replies that he was not held to give account when he was promoted to the archbishopric, and that if he was bound to give account, he was absolved from it by his very promotion." The bishop then began to make a joke of you, saying that you fancied conse-

cration wiped away debts as baptism does sin. He then proceeded to relate the causes of alarm which had led him and the other bishops to appeal: these were his own humiliation, the interests of their churches, and separation from the Roman Church; for that the king would perhaps abandon the holy see if your interdict should be carried into effect. He also mentioned how you throw dishonour upon him on account of his statutes, and protested that the king was willing to revoke the statute by which appeals were forbidden, that he had only enacted it to save the poor clerks from expense, and that he was now provoked to find them ungrateful for it. If therefore they liked they might carry ecclesiastical causes before the ecclesiastical judge, provided that in all civil causes they appeared before the civil tribunal.

Lastly, he said that you imposed unfair burdens on himself, commanding him to disperse your briefs through England, and that forty couriers were not enough for this; and, as a further grievance, that you had withdrawn from his jurisdiction nearly forty churches, on the ground that they had formerly paid rents to the monastery of the Holy Trinity or S. Austin's; and that you had your dean stationed in the city of London, to keep a look-out upon him, and to try causes which concerned the aforesaid churches; and that these grievances were directed against himself more than any other bishop.

His lordship of Salisbury joined in the appeal, in his own name and that of the bishop of Winchester.

Likewise the archdeacon of Canterbury appealed against you, and one of the monks of your convent.

The cardinals left the king the Thursday following the first Sunday in Advent. On their departure the king entreated them most humbly that they would intercede with the pope to rid him of you altogether. In asking this he shed tears in the presence of the cardinals and others. Lord William of Pavia seemed to weep too, but Lord Otto could scarcely conceal his amusement.

The sum of the matter is this: Lord William of Pavia sends a chaplain of his, a relative of Master Lombard, with all haste to the pope; and the king sends two envoys, a retainer of the bishop of London, called Master Henry, and with him Reginald, son of the bishop of Salisbury.

Moreover, the Saturday before the second Sunday in Advent, Master Jocelin of Chichester and the precentor of Salisbury left the cardinals, who were then at Evreux, to denounce to your lordship the appeal made by the clergy of England. Likewise they bear letters to you. The cardinals salute you with the style and title of legate of the apostolic see, but in the conclusion of the letter they forbid you, on the pope's authority, to pronounce an interdict against the kingdom of England or its clergy.

Lord Otto gives the pope secret information that he will neither authorize nor consent to your deposition. The king seems to have no wish but your head in a charger. Farewell.

1167.—Becket to William of Pavia.

Materials, vi., p. 296. Dr. Giles's translation.

I did not think that I was to be set up for sale to the buyers, or that you would make gain of my blood, and procure out of the price of iniquity a name and reputation for yourself. You would have looked for another field wherein to reap your harvest if you had not been perilously forgetful of your station and weighed the sports of fortune in a very different balance from mine. You were encouraged, perhaps, to do so by the contemplation of my humbled condition; you beheld my adversity, but you should have looked forwards to greater prosperity hereafter. The vicissitudes of things are great, and as the fall from success and triumph is easy, so may we also rise again. I cannot believe your prudence to be ignorant, though you have yet had no personal experience of the truth that there is danger lurking near it; nothing humble which good fortune may not shine on! I write thus that you may be led to direct your attention to those sudden changes; observe them well, and, when you have done so, be indulgent. The ship of Peter ought not to have been exposed to these storms: though she cannot be crushed she may yet be shaken; she cannot sink, but will float again, however the waves may toss her. If then you wish to be a true disciple and good seaman of that Pilot and true fisher of men, as you have often felt the favouring breezes of prosperity so should you present yourself with courage under every danger to

meet the frowns of adversity. If you have received good from the hand of fortune shall you not receive evil also, evil which perhaps will endure but for a moment? Thus our master Peter, the chief of the apostles, not by yielding but by resisting kings and disturbing the peace of the wicked, gained for himself by martyrdom a name on earth and glory in heaven. In this way has the Church gained strength and renewed vigour when it was thought that she was annihilated. In short, this is what I wish you to do: so act here that you may live happily in the Lord. God bless you, that I too may be blessed.

[The legates were finally recalled, having accomplished nothing. The pope began to lean more strongly to Becket's side. This is in a few words the record of the year 1168 so far as it concerned the ecclesiastical controversy. In May, 1168, the pope appointed a new legation, consisting of Simon, prior of Mont Dieu, and Bernard of Corilo, a monk of Grammont; but it was not until Jan. 1169, that they had an interview with the kings Henry and Louis. This took place at Montmirail, in Maine: the archbishop was present.]

1169, Jan. 6.—Conference at Montmirail.

Herbert of Bosham, *Materials*, iii., p. 419. Dr. Giles's trans.

The advice of all parties was that the archbishop should submit the whole question to the king's mercy, and place himself in his majesty's hands unconditionally. Now he had already, at the instance and by the advice of the mediators, avowed in the presence of all of them, that he would do this, "saving God's honour"; but those of the mediators who were most intimate with him, men of experience

in counsel, and on whom the archbishop placed the greatest confidence, urged him to omit the words "saving the honour of God," because they said that the king would be scandalized thereby. It was, therefore, the opinion of all that he should submit the whole question to the will and pleasure of the king, and so gratify his majesty by giving him honour before the meeting; at this the king would be pleased, and would restore him his favour and make peace with him. Now this phrase which was added about the king's constitutions was similiar to that which had been used when we were still in England. The archbishop had there said that he would observe the king's constitutions "saving his own order," as we have related it above in our history. And now a similiar phrase was added. In England it ran, "saving our order," it was now "saving God's honour." And the arguments and speeches that were made against the former were now used over again to induce the archbishop to omit the latter. Indeed, he would at the present meeting have retained the same form which he had used in England, if he had not known that the king would be offended at it; he therefore adopted the second phrase, at which the king, as we shall presently shew, was offended as much as he was before. However, not to multiply words, he was so urged and drawn now one way, and now the other, that he seemed at last to be persuaded. And when he spoke a few words with his professors apart, as long as the time would permit, and told them what the mediators had said, all their wisdom seemed

to fail them; for on the hand they anticipated peace and the king's favour, which they so much desired; on the hand it would be not only disgraceful but irreligious and humiliating to the Church if the archbishop should submit himself and the whole question, which was of an ecclesiastical nature, to the will of a layman, without any reservation of God's honour, particularly too as this was the very point on which the whole dispute had turned. Yet the mediators, among whom were men of the highest character for religion, men of experience, and on whom the archbishop could rely, having in view the advantage of the Church and the interests of all of us, as they confidently anticipated, used all their exertions to persuade him to omit this reservation. Our professors, therefore, one and all hesitated, and were afraid to advise him lest the failure of the peace and the injury to the Church which would ensue should be thrown on their shoulders. They were all silent therefore; and all their wisdom was baffled. Some of them, indeed, murmured in a low voice that it was not safe in such a case to omit all mention of God's honour and the liberties of the Church for the sake of man's favour; which would be the same, they said, as putting a candle under a bushel, as we have stated above, when the other phrase, "saving our order," was for the sake of peace withdrawn in England. . . . . Whilst we were thus hesitating and thinking what to do, the mediators, many of whom were influential men and most intimate with the archbishop, so plied him with their advice, and urged

him now on the one side and now on the other, that at last they thought he was persuaded to follow their counsel.

Now the two kings were sitting together, and waiting to see what could be done; and when the mediators and others were escorting the archbishop into their presence, the disciple who wrote this narrative pushed himself, though with great difficulty, through the crowd, and whispered a few words hastily, for there was not time to say much, into his patron's ear, "Take care, my lord, and walk warily: I tell you truly and conscientiously, that if you suppress those words, 'saving God's honour,' as you formerly suppressed the corresponding phrase, 'saving your own order,' in England, your sorrow will again be renewed upon you, and the more bitterly, because, though you have already suffered for it, yet it has not taught you wisdom."

At these words he turned round and looked me in the face, but was unable to answer me for the crowd who thronged about him, trying to speak to him: and so he was led into the presence of the two kings. He knew that humility will soften the hardest heart, and is a virtue which beyond all others is agreeable to the high and mighty; wherefore at the first sight of the king he rushed forward and threw himself at his majesty's feet. He was, for the sake of honour, accompanied by the son of the great and noble count Theobald, namely, the venerable and excellent prelate William, now archbishop of Sens, for Hugh of blessed memory, whom we have before mentioned as

archbishop of that city, when we first went to live there, was now dead. The king, seeing the archbishop on his knees before him, immediately caught him by the hand and made him rise.

The archbishop, standing up in the presence of the kings, began humbly to entreat the royal mercy on the English Church, which was committed to so unworthy a sinner as himself, and in the beginning of his speech accused himself, as every man does, ascribing to his own demerits the troubles and afflictions which she had suffered. At the conclusion of his address he added, "On the whole subject, therefore, which lies between us, my lord the king, I throw myself on your mercy, and on your pleasure, here, in presence of our lord, the king of France and of the archbishops, princes, and others who stand round us" —but here he added what neither the king, nor the mediators, nor even his own friends anticipated— "Saving the honour of my God!" . . . . . When he added these words, the king was scandalized, and burst into rage against the archbishop, assailing him with much contumely and reproach, abusing him as proud, vain, and entirely forgetful of the royal munificence towards him, and ungrateful for all his favours. And because the character of "our master," as we stated in the beginning of this history, even from his youth, was so pure that his greatest and most mendacious enemies feared to bring a false charge against him, he could find no other point on which to accuse him but this, that when he was Chancellor, he received

oaths of allegiance from the king's subjects on both sides of the sea, in order, as he said, to disinherit his lord and sovereign, who had conferred so many favours on him, and to become king in his stead. "It was for the same reason," the king added, "that he lived so splendidly, and acted with so much munificence in his chancellorship."

The archbishop heard all this patiently, and, without showing the least sign of perturbation, answered the king's abuse with humility and modesty, in terms neither too unbending nor too submissive. When he had replied to all the other points of the king's speech, and came to the charge about his chancellorship, he said, "My lord, you accuse me for what I did when I was chancellor; but it is your anger which leads you thus to censure as a fault, what ought to have earned for me your majesty's endless gratitude. It does not beseem me, nor is it necessary at present, to revive, for the sake of my own glory, what I then did in your service, or the fidelity with which I served you. Our lord the king of the Franks here knows it; all who stand round know it; the whole world knows it; my deeds themselves testify for me, and declare how I behaved in that office, whilst I was still in your majesty's court, to promote your advantage and your honour. It would be degrading and unbecoming in me to revive the advantage which I rendered by my services, or to taunt you with them, for the world saw it and knows it to be true." The king would hear no more, but taking the words out of his mouth,

he said to the king of the Franks, "Hear, my lord, if you please, how foolishly, and vainly, this man deserted his Church, though neither I nor any other person drove him out of the kingdom, but himself fled away privily by night; and now he tells you that his cause is that of the Church, and that he is suffering for justice's sake; and by this showing he deceives many, and those men of influence. I have always been willing, as I am at present, to allow him to rule the Church, over which he presides, with as much liberty as any of the saints his predecessors held it or governed it.

"But take notice, if you please, my lord," continued Henry, addressing the king of the Franks, "whatever his lordship of Canterbury disapproves, he will say is contrary to God's honour, and so he will on all occasions get the advantage of me; but that I may not be thought to despise God's honour, I will make this proposition to him. There have been many kings of England before me, some of greater and some of less power than I. There have also been many good and holy archbishops of Canterbury before him. Now let him behave towards me as the most holy of his predecessors behaved towards the least of mine, and I am satisfied." All present exclaimed aloud, "The king humbles himself enough." The king of the Franks, as if struck by what the English king said about the archbishop's predecessors, and so inclining in his majesty's favour, said to the archbishop, "My lord archbishop, do you wish to be more than a saint?" And this speech, which was

uttered rather insultingly by the Frankish king, gave no little pleasure to the king of England and his party, whose sole wish was to justify their own cause and to disparage ours in the eyes of the French king, that so his good will, which by God's grace had so long befriended us and been our sole refuge, might be alienated from us.

But the archbishop did not appear to be in the least moved or disturbed, though both the kings were against him, for he replied with composure and equanimity, that he was ready to resume the charge of his church with all its liberties, such as the holy men his predecessors had enjoyed, but would not admit any fresh ones passed with a view to the church's detriment, and would reject and condemn them as being contrary to the institutes of the holy fathers. "It is true," continued he, "that there have been archbishops before me, holier and greater than I, every one of whom extirpated some of the abuses of the church, but if they had corrected all, I should not now be exposed to this hot and fiery trial." He then began to apologise for his flight, which he had effected by night without the knowledge of the king, but the mediators of the peace, who, as we have said, were many, and men of great respectability, justly considered that this subject would be much more likely to exasperate the king than accelerate the peace, drew the archbishop aside and began again to urge him as before, crying out "Give the king due honour, and suppress that phrase which offends him: submit yourself unconditionally to his will and

pleasure; now or never is the time for a reconciliation, when the king and nobles are present, and all wish for peace but yourself." The same arguments were used by the other nobles and bishops who were present, both French, English, Normans, Bretons, and Poitivans, as also by certain men of the religious order who had been deputed by the pope to attend the meeting especially on our behalf. They all urged him to suppress that little word, "saving God's honour," that peace might be obtained both for himself and his followers in the presence of both the kings and their nobles.

If you had then seen the archbishop you would have thought him a victim standing before the executioners, whose tongues were their weapons, all of whom sought to suppress God's honour, yet thinking that in this they were doing Him service. Afterwards, however, as will be shown, they acknowledged themselves to have been circumvented and deceived. But let us now resume.

The archbishop standing, as we have said, turned now to one, now to another, assuring them that he would do as they wished him as far as was consistent with God's honour; but that it did not become a priest and a bishop to submit himself in any other way to the will of the men of this world, especially in a question which concerned the liberties of the Church; and that this ought to be sufficient, and, indeed, was more than sufficient, if the peace of the Church did not warrant his doing it.

The king, as we have mentioned above, was

offended in England at the phrase "saving his order," and the archbishop for the sake of peace withdrew it, by the advice of several, and by doing so he did not recover the king's favour, but suffered from it much more severely than before. He therefore feared that the same would again happen, and stood firm in the midst of all their solicitations like a city founded on a rock. . . . The mediators of peace, therefore, seeing him firm and inflexible, departed from him, and he was left alone. The nobles of both kingdoms rose up, imputing the failure of the negotiation to the arrogance of the archbishop; and one of the counts who were present said, that as he set himself in opposition to the will of both kingdoms, he was unworthy of the protection of either: "He is rejected by England, let him find no countenance or support in France!"

[On March 10, 1169, Alexander IV. having heard of the failure of the conference at Montmirail, wrote to Becket announcing the appointment of two new legates, Gratian and Vivian. Meanwhile the Bishops of London and Salisbury, fearing further censures, made provisional appeals to the Pope in arrest of judgment. On Palm Sunday (April 13), the Archbishop, not having heard of this, excommunicated the Bishop of London. He had already excommunicated the Bishop of Salisbury. He also threatened further censures. This sentence was not formally delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral until Ascension Day, when an envoy of the Archbishop placed the letter in the hands of the celebrant at High Mass, and, having briefly explained its contents to the people, escaped in the confusion. The Bishop of London disregarded the sentence, and put forward extraordinary claims of exemption, and even supremacy. He addressed the following letter to the king:—]

THE KINGS LOUIS AND HENRY REJECT SAINT THOMAS, BUT THE PEOPLE SEEK HIS BLESSING.

1169.—The Bishop of London to the King.

Materials, vol. vi., 595. Dr. Giles's translation.

Your excellency, my lord, cannot be ignorant how heavily his lordship of Canterbury has put forth his hand upon us and certain others of your faithful servants, and aimed with the right hand of iniquity his spiritual sword against our person, contrary to all justice. It is clearly laid down in the canons that no one shall prematurely, that is unsummoned and unconvicted, be condemned: no bishop can excommunicate a man until the cause is proved of which he is accused. Since then his lordship has deviated from justice; we trust in God, that his sword which he has aimed at us may smite nothing but the air. For we anticipate the blow by appealing to the pope, and an appeal made in the beginning of Lent must nullify a sentence passed on the Palm Sunday following. Pope Sixtus ordained that when a bishop deems himself aggrieved by his metropolitan, or holds him in suspicion, he shall appeal to the Roman see, which shall give him a hearing, and in the mean time no one shall excommunicate him until the cause has been decided. And if any sentence shall be passed in the interim it shall altogether be without effect.

1169.—The King to the Bishop of London.

Materials, vol. vi., 599, Dr. Giles's translation.

I have heard of the outrage which that traitor and enemy of mine, Thomas, has inflicted on you and on other of my subjects, and I am as much displeased as if it had fallen on my own person. Wherefore be

it known to you for certain that I will do my best, through our lord the pope, the king of France, and all my friends, that henceforth he shall not have it in his power to injure us or our dominions. It is my will and advice that you do not suffer this matter to prey upon your mind, but defend yourself to the best of your ability, and either come over to me here at once into Normandy,* or remain in England, as you may think most expedient. For I leave this to your own discretion; but you may be assured that if you determine to come, and wish to proceed to Rome, I will furnish you with everything necessary for your journey, or that may conduce to maintain my own dignity. Witness, G., my clerk, at S. Macaire's, in Gascony.

[When the legates arrived several meetings took place between them and the king; but nothing was accomplished as Henry demanded the insertion in any agreement of the expression "saving the royal dignity," and Becket of a "saving my order." Gratian returned to Rome, both parties renewed their appeals, and everything was again in confusion. Henry, in alarm, sent over the following stringent articles.]

1169, Michaelmas.—Decrees sent into England by King Henry.†

Materials, vol. vi., p. 147.

1. If any one be found bearing letters of the lord

* The bishop of London lost no time in availing himself of the assistance which was thus offered: he crossed over immediately into Normandy, and shortly afterwards set out for Rome, whilst the king redeemed his pledge by writing to the pope and requesting his interference.

† Probably these orders were issued more than once.

pope or any mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury, containing an interdict against England, let him be taken, and be justice done on him without delay as a traitor to king and kingdom.

2. Moreover no clerk, or monk, or canon, or convert, or person of any calling, shall be permitted to embark from or return to England unless for his departure he have the license of the justiciar, and for his return that of the king. And if any be found doing otherwise let him be taken and imprisoned.

3. No one shall appeal to the pope or archbishop.

4. No plea shall be held concerning mandates of pope or archbishop; nor shall any mandates of theirs be received in England by any one. If any be found doing otherwise let him be taken and imprisoned.

5. It is likewise altogether forbidden that any one take any mandate of clerk or layman to the lord pope or the archbishop. If such be found let him be taken and imprisoned.

6. If bishops or clerks or abbats or laymen will observe the sentence of interdict, without delay be they driven from the land, and all their kindred: and that they take with them none of their chattels, but all be seized into the king's hands.

7. That the chattels of all who favour the pope or archbishop, and all their possessions and those of all who belong to them, of whatsoever rank or order or sex or condition they be, be seized and confiscated to the king's use.

8. That all clerks who have revenues in England be summoned throughout every shire that within

three months they come into England, as they love their revenues, and if they come not at the fixed time their revenues be seized into the king's hand.

9. That the pence of S. Peter be not sent to the pope, but that they be diligently collected and preserved in the king's treasury and expended at his order.

[On Nov. 18, 1169, a conference between the king and archbishop was held at Montmartre, at which Louis VII. was present, with the archbishop of Rouen and Vivian. The king, probably alarmed by threats of an interdict on England, now yielded almost everything, but on pretence of a vow refused the kiss of peace to the archbishop, and the failure of the conference is thus described by Herbert of Bosham.]

1169, Nov. 18.—Conference at Montmartre.

Materials, vol. iii., p. 450. Dr. Giles's translation.

Now the archbishop was one of the most wary of men by reason of his experience of the world, and as soon as ever he heard the king's answer he and his followers became alarmed. The first words which he uttered showed at once that he saw far into the future, for he did not wait to consult anyone, but answered decisively and absolutely that at present he would not make peace with the king, unless, according to the advice of the apostolic pontiff, it should be ratified by the kiss of peace. This decisive reply cut short the conference just as night was coming on, and the kings had a long journey before them to Mantes, where their quarters had been prepared, at the distance of thirty-six miles from Paris.

The king of England, who had been busy the whole day and now had a long way to ride by night,

repeatedly on his journey cursed the archbishop, reckoning up the various annoyances and causes of vexation which he had given him.

Whilst the kings thus took their departure we retired to pass the night in a house called the Temple, belonging to the Templars, and situated just outside the walls of Paris. As we were leaving the Chapel of the Martyrdom, in which the business of the day had been transacted, one of our people came up to the archbishop and addressed him thus: "My lord, this day's conference has been held in the Chapel of the Martyrdom, and it is my belief that nothing but your martyrdom will ever ensure peace to the Church." "Be it so," said the archbishop. "God grant that she may be redeemed even if my life is sacrificed!"

[The second commission having failed, the pope, on Jan. 19, 1170, issued a third, to Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen, and Bernard, bishop of Nevers.—*Materials*, vol. vii., p. 198.

They were directed to mediate a reconciliation between the king and the archbishop, and to insist on the restoration of the property of the deprived clerks and on the giving of the kiss. If the king proved obdurate they were to lay his lands under interdict. At the same time they were given power to absolve those whom Becket had excommunicated "if they had certain hope of making peace." On Feb. 12th the pope authorised the absolution of Foliot. But he was far from entirely deserting Becket. On Feb. 26th he issued a prohibition of the coronation of the king's son by any but the archbishop of Canterbury.]

1170, Feb. 26.—The Pope's prohibition of the coronation by York.

Materials, vol. vii., p. 217. Dr. Giles's translation.

As we have been told on the authority of several

informants, that the coronation of the kings of England belongs by ancient custom to the Church of Canterbury, we command you most authoritatively by these our letters, not to crown the king of England's son, if he shall ask you to do so, whilst our venerable brother Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury, is in exile, or in any way to interfere in that cause. Which if any of you shall presume to do, yet know of a surety that the deed will redound to the peril of his orders and of his office, for we have determined that no appeal shall be listened to, and no excuse admitted.

[Foliot was absolved April 5, 1170. Becket thus protested.]

1170.—Denunciations of Foliot's absolution. Archbishop Thomas to cardinal Albert.

Materials, vii., p. 279.

Would that your ears, my dear brother, were open to what is published in the streets of Ascalon to the shame of the Roman Church. Our latest messenger seemed to have some consolation from the apostolic see in the letters which he bore from the lord pope; but their authority is made void by the letters officially issued that Satan be unloosened for the destruction of the Church. For by the apostolic mandate the bishops of London and Salisbury are absolved, of whom the former is known to have been from the first the exciter of schism and the author of all malice, while the latter did all he could to encourage others in disobedience. I know not how it is that in the Court of Rome the Lord's side is always sacrificed, that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is slain.

By the authority of the Curia, our exile and the calamity of the Church has been prolonged to the end of the sixth year. With you the wretched, the exiles, the innocent are condemned, and for no other reason (on my conscience I say it) than because they are the poor of Christ and weak, and would not go back from the righteousness of God, while on the other hand you absolve the sacrilegious, the murderers, the robbers, the impenitent, whom I openly declare, on the authority of Christ, that not Peter himself, did he rule the Church, could absolve in the sight of God. [*He then declares that absolution must depend on repentance.*] Let any one who dares bind himself and not dread the sentence of the Judge who is to come. Let him absolve the robbers, the sacrilegious, the murderers, the perjurers, the men of blood, the schismatics without repentance. I will never forgive to the impenitent the things which have been taken away from God's Church. Is it not our spoils, or rather the spoils of the Church, which the king's emissaries lavish on and pay to the cardinals and courtiers? . . For my own part I am resolved no longer to trouble the Court; let those resort thither who prevail in their iniquities, and after triumphing over justice and leading innocence captive, return with boasting for the confusion of the Church. Would a God had not caused for no purpose the deaths of so many poor and innocent persons. Who in the future will dare to resist that King whom the Church of Rome animates and arms with such triumphs, leaving a deadly example to posterity?

May your holiness ever fare well, and remember me before God.

[The archbishop was unable, apparently, to procure the delivery of the pope's prohibition. Henry crossed to England, and the young king was crowned in London by the archbishop of York in spite of Thomas's letters forbidding him to usurp the right of the Church of Canterbury.]

1170, June 14.—Coronation of Henry the Younger.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 103.

The king caused the sea ports to be very strictly watched. Meanwhile he returned to England and suddenly caused his son Henry to be crowned in London, the archbishop of York laying his hand upon him, against the desire and opinion of nearly all in the kingdom. The archbishop of Canterbury had directed watchful eyes to this event, and had obtained letters from the lord pope which were delivered to the archbishop of York and bishop of London on the Saturday of the week of the coronation of the said king, forbidding them, without himself, who had not been recalled for the purpose, to lay hands on him to crown him, because this coronation ought to belong to the Church of Canterbury. None the less was he crowned on the day before the feast of SS. Vitus and Modestus. The king then straightway recrossed the channel. Now, before when he had sent over his son to England to be crowned, he had, being then over sea, told this same to the bishop of Worcester*, who was also over sea, ordering

* Roger, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, half-brother of the Empress Matilda, mother of Henry II.: bishop of Worcester from 1164. Died Aug. 9, 1179.

1. Coronation of the young Roger by Henry of York.
2. The Coronation Feast; the elder King serves the younger.

him to return and to be present with the bishops, of whom there were then few in England at the coronation of the kinsman. But he did not signify to him that he wished his son to be crowned by the imposition of the hands of the archbishop of York. The bishop, hoping better things, agreed, and came to the sea port of Dieppe.

The king had passed over into England. The queen, who remained in Normandy, and Richard de Humet, justiciar of Normandy, sent letters to the bishop of Worcester at the said port, forbidding him to cross, sending other letters to the prévôt and owners of transport vessels forbidding them to take the bishop over or allow him to be taken, for they knew indeed that the bishop would never allow the young king to be crowned by the laying on of the archbishop of York's hands within the province of Canterbury while the archbishop of Canterbury was alive, to whose dignity it belonged to crown kings. Thus, being forbidden to cross, the bishop remained in Normandy. After the coronation the king straightway, as was said above, returned to Normandy. The bishop of Worcester met him three miles outside Falaise. The king showed himself to be enraged, and broke forth into words of contumely, saying "Now it is plain that you are a traitor; I myself ordered you to be present at my son's coronation, and told you the day. You would not be present; whereby you have plainly shown that you love neither me nor my son's advancement; but the revenues of your bishopric shall remain to you

no more. I will tear them from your hands since you have proved yourself unworthy either of bishopric or benefice. Truly never were you the son of good earl Robert, my uncle, who brought up me and you in his castle, and had us taught there the first elements of morals and learning." The bishop, secure in his innocence, told the king simply and calmly what had been done, how he had come to the harbour and how he had received orders not to cross. The king did not believe him, and replied in great anger, "The queen is in the Castle of Falaise and Richard de Humet is perchance there, or will arrive on the morrow. Do you quote them as having done this?" "Not the queen," answered the bishop, "lest if her respect or fear of you make her suppress the truth you should wax still more angry with me; or if she confesses the truth you should rudely rage against that noble lady: the matter is not of enough moment for her to hear one harsh word from you about it. I had rather it had happened than that I should have been at the coronation which was unjust and contrary to God's will, for the fault not of the crowned but of the one who crowned him; and if I had been there I should not have allowed him to crown him. You say I am not the son of earl Robert. I don't know: I am the son of my mother in whose company my father took upon himself all the right and honour of government, and you do not make a worthy return to my father, the said earl Robert, your uncle, who brought you up honourably and fought for you against king Stephen for sixteen

years, and was at last taken prisoner fighting for you. If you had recalled to mind these services of my father you would never have reduced my brother to poverty and banishment. The honour of my brother the earl, which your grandfather, the great king Henry, gave to my father entire and of a thousand knights you have cut down to a fief of two hundred and forty knights. My other younger brother was, as is said, a bold knight: him you have reduced to such poverty that on account of his poverty he has left the secular life and knighthood and vowed himself to the perpetual service of the hospital of Jerusalem, and has received its rule and habit. After this fashion do you bless the kindred of your house and your friends: so do you reward those who have well deserved. Why do you threaten me that you will take away the benefices of my bishopric? I am expelled or I am not expelled, as you please: they are yours, if you are not satisfied with what you get, without doubt unjustly and to the peril of your soul, from the archbishopric and six vacant bishoprics and many abbeys, and with turning to your secular uses the alms of your fathers, the good kings, and the patrimony of Jesus Christ."

These things and the like were said in the hearing of all the attendants who rode with the king; and a certain knight of Aquitaine, who did not know the bishop, said to his companions, "And who is this who speaks thus?" He was told that it was a bishop. And he replied, "It is well for the king that he is a priest. If he were a knight he would not leave the

king two acres of land." Another wishing to please the king, bitterly reviled the bishop. The king heard it, turned to him angrily and abused him in unseemly language, saying among other things, "Do you think, you vile fellow, that if I say what I choose to my kinsman and my bishop that you or any other may dishonour him with your tongue or threaten him: I can hardly keep my hands from your eyes: neither you nor the others may say a word against the bishop." They came to their lodgings. After dinner the king and the bishop talked in private and in amity together and concerning a reconciliation with the archbishop.

[The king had indeed become thoroughly alarmed at last; for it was known that the legates had received orders to lay his land under interdict if he did not make peace, and at the end of June they had to deliver to him a commonitory letter from the pope to that effect.]

1170, July 22.—The Reconciliation at Freteval.

Materials, vii., 326.

(Translation based on that of Mr. R. H. Froude.)

To his most serene lord and dearest father, Alexander, by the grace of God Supreme Pontiff, Thomas, the humble minister of the holy church of Canterbury greeting, and all obedience, with the greatest devotion.

God hath looked with an eye of pity upon His church, and at length hath turned Her sorrow into joy. . . . . For lo, when the king of the English had received your last letters and learned that you would spare him no more, even as you

1. S. Thomas hears of the Coronation.
2. His Letter thereon is presented to the Pope.

spared not Frederick, who is called Emperor,—when he understood that his land, in spite of all evasion, would lie under interdict, and his bishops if perchance they should not obey, would be suspended and excommunicated—forthwith made peace with us, to the honour of God, and, as we hope, to the great benefit of the church. For concerning the customs for which he used with such pertinacity to contend, he did not say one word. He demanded no oath from one or from any of us: he yielded to us the possessions which he had taken away on account of this dissension, as we had enumerated them on paper; he promised peace and security and return from exile to all our companions, and even the kiss if we desired to press him so far. In every article he appeared vanquished insomuch that he was called perjured by some who bade him swear that he would not that day admit us to the kiss.

For we, having taken counsel with many wise men, especially with the Archbishop of Sens, who so anxiously and effectually sought the reconciliation, went with him to the Conference with the king, whom God (who had removed all those who were wont to surround your holiness with plots) we found so changed that (which excited the surprise of all who stood round) his mind seemed in no way to abhor peaceable counsels. For when he saw us coming afar off, he ran forward from amidst of the crowd, and, with head uncovered, anticipated us with a salutation as we were about to salute him, and after a few words with us and the Archbishop of

Sens, alone he drew us apart, the archbishop withdrawing, to the wonder of all, and for a long time spoke with such familiarity that it seemed as though there had never been any discord between us. And almost everyone who was present with joy and astonishment glorified God, tears washing the cheeks of many, and thanked the blessed Magdalene, on whose day it was, that the king returned to the old paths, to restore joy to his whole land and peace to the Church. We rebuked him, with such moderation as was fitting; we plainly showed him the ways wherein he was going, and the perils which beset him on every side; we besought and warned him to repent and, bringing forth worthy fruits of penance and making open compensation to the Church, which he had not slightly injured, to purge his conscience and redeem his reputation, for from evil counsellors rather than from the motion of his own will both had suffered much hurt. And when he had heard all this not only with patience and also with kindness, and promised amendment, we added that it was necessary for his welfare and for the security and preservation to his children of the power which God had given him that he should give satisfaction to his mother the church of Canterbury for the matter wherein he had of late grievously wounded her. For contrary to the most ancient right of your Church he had caused his son to be crowned, by the usurpation of the archbishop of York, who contrary to the most venerable custom and after your prohibition and also in another pro-

vince had presumed with blind and rash ambition to perform that consecration. At the which he was somewhat reluctant to admit, and, protesting at the same time that it was with no desire of contention, said "Who crowned king William that conquered England for himself and the succeeding kings? Was it not the archbishop of York or any other bishop according as he wished who was to be crowned king?"

[In answer to this the archbishop gave a list of the coronations, showing that only in the case of Stigand, who was not recognised as lawful archbishop, and Anselm, who was in exile, was the king crowned by any but the archbishop of Canterbury; and in the latter case the crown was placed a second time on the king's head by the archbishop on his return. He ended by saying that far from wishing to diminish the glory of the young king he desired to promote it in every way.]

The king, with a look of good humour and in a cheerful tone, replied, "If you love my son you do it by a double right. For I gave him to you as a son and you received him at my hand as you remember. And his love for you is such that he cannot endure the sight of any of your enemies. And I know that he will avenge you, and even more severely than he ought as soon as he has opportunity. Nor do I doubt that the Church of Canterbury is the noblest among the churches of the west, neither would I deprive her of her right: rather will I, according to your counsel, take measures that she be relieved and restored to all her ancient dignity. But as for those who till now have betrayed both me and you I will, with God's help, so answer them as the merits of traitors deserve." Then I leapt from my horse

and would have knelt at his feet, but he seized the stirrup and compelled me to remount, and seemed to shed tears while he said "What more? Lord archbishop, let us restore again our old affection; let us each show the other what good he can, and be forgetful of the former hatred. But I beseech you show me honour in the sight of those who now watch afar off." And passing over to them he said (because he saw that some of them, whom the bearer of this will indicate to you, were lovers of discord and kindlers of hatred), so that he might stop the mouths both of them and of all who should speak evil, "If I, when I find the archbishop prepared to every good purpose, should not be myself good to him, then were I the worst of all men, and I should prove the evil things that are said of me to be true. Nor do I believe that any advice is more honest or useful that I study to surpass men in kindness and charity." Almost all who were present received this speech of the king's with the greatest delight. He then sent to us his bishops who advised us to make our petition in public. And if we had trusted the advice of some of them we should have placed ourselves and the whole cause of the Church at the king's disposal. For, from the beginning until now, iniquity has come forth from the Scribes and Pharisees. But blessed be God who did not suffer me to accept of their counsel or to expose the liberty of the Church and the justice of God to the will of any man. Having discussed them we took counsel with the archbishop of Sens and with the poor in Christ, the companions

of our wanderings and exile, and strengthened our resolution that neither on the question of the customs, nor of the loss which he had inflicted on our Church, nor on the consecration, nor to the part of ecclesiastical liberty or our honour would be in any way submit to his disposal. And so we advanced to the king and his company, and with all humility asked by the mouth of the archbishop of Sens that he would restore to us his favour and peace and security to us and ours, and the Church of Canterbury, with her possessions, which he could read, set down on the scroll; and that he should mercifully amend what he had presumptuously done against us and our Church in the coronation of his son; promising to him love and honour and whatsoever obedience can be shown by an archbishop to his king and prince, in the Lord. He assented and received us and all our companions who were present into his favour. And because you did not order that he should restore to us and ours what has been taken away we could not order it; but neither can we, God willing, yield that point. According to your command the request is deferred, not abandoned. Indeed if you had ordered it as forcibly as you expressed your last letters no doubt he would have made satisfaction and given an example of great value to posterity, to the Church of God, and especially to the Apostolic See. We conversed together until the evening, as familiarly as in the days of our ancient friendship; and it was agreed at parting that I should return to pay a visit of thanks to the most christian king and our other

benefactors, and to arrange any affairs, and then make some stay with the king before embarking for England; that the world might know how thoroughly we are restored to his favour and intimacy. We shall wait in France however till out envoys bring word how retribution is made. . . . We do not fear that the king will not perform his promises unless evil councillors mislead him.

[Before the end of the day Arnulf of Lisieux suggested that as the king received Becket again to favour he should absolve all whom he had excommunicated; but the archbishop declined to do this for all promiscuously or without satisfaction.]

Presentiments of the End.

William FitzStephen. Materials, iii., p. 113.

The nobles of Gaul loaded him and his followers with gifts, horses, garments and every necessary, that they might despatch with honour on their return to their country those whom as exiles they had nourished. To the king of the Franks when he received with all thanks his leave to depart most graciously and affectionately (given), he said, "We go into England to play for heads." And the king of the Franks said, "So seemeth it to me, verily, lord archbishop, you will never trust your king, if you take my advice, unless he gives you the kiss of peace. Remain here; so long as king Louis lives, never shall you lack the wine, the food, the riches of Gaul." The archbishop: "God's Will be done." With tears they bid each other a last farewell. And so likewise to the bishop of Paris, who kissed him, he said, among other things, "I go into England to die." . . .

S. Thomas prepares to return to England.
The Count of Boulogne endeavours to dissuade him.

When everything was ready he went to the king at Tours, who did not offer the kiss, nor did he ask for it himself, for fear of seeming importunate. Afterwards he went to the court at Amboise. The king was that day [Oct. 12] to hear mass. Nigel de Sacville, the king's chaplain and keeper of the seal, to whom the king had given a living of the archbishop's, the which he feared to lose, told the king that the archbishop was in the chapel and that perchance he had come so early, and before mass, that he might offer the kiss of peace at mass; but that if the king willed the archbishop might be defrauded of the kiss. The king, "How?" Nigel, "Let the priest say the mass for the dead." The king agreed, and so it was done. After mass there was said as usual in honour of our Lady the ever-Virgin Mary "Hail, holy Mother"; the which said, the priest kissed the book of the gospel and gave it to the archbishop, who kissed it and gave it to the king. When he had kissed it the archbishop said, "My lord, I am now come to you in your land, give me the kiss of peace, for the sake of the occasion, the place, and your oath." The king, "Another time you shall have enough of it," which refusal both the archbishop and all others observed in silence. On that day for a long time the king and archbishop talked together alone. In the final agreement of peace the king had engaged that the archbishop of Rouen should meet him and discharge all his debts and account for the rest of the archbishop's money which he had received, and accompany him to Eng-

land, or that he would send the archbishop of Rouen with him to his son the king to supply whatever was wanting to the restoration of the archbishop and his followers. Then he departed, having received leave, and the king said to him "Go in peace: I will follow you and see you in Rouen or in England as soon as I can." The archbishop: "My lord, my mind saith to me that I so depart from you as from him whom in this life I shall see no more." The king: "Dost thou account me a traitor?" The archbishop: "My lord, that be far from thee." And departing thence the archbishop by the will of the king came to Rouen. There he found to conduct him, as the king's messenger, only the dean of Salisbury.* The king's excuse for not himself coming with him to England was that the king of the Franks was making ready to attack his men in Auvergne.† When he heard from the dean of Salisbury wherefore he had come, the archbishop said, "O, how things change."

[*It* is then added that the archbishop of Rouen had received no instructions to pay his creditors or to accompany him, but gave him of himself £300.

On Nov. 24 Becket went to Witsand. Nov. 31 he despatched letters of suspension to the archbishop of York, and excommunication of the bishops of York and Salisbury, which were delivered to them at Dover on the following day. Dec. 1, Becket landed at Sandwich.]

* John of Oxford, "the Schismatic," whom he had himself excommunicated in 1166.

† So Ep, 722 from Henry II. to Becket. (*Materials*, vii., 400).

S. Thomas's Return to England.
The People rejoice, but the Courtiers threaten.

The Archbishop's return to Canterbury.

FitzStephen. Materials, iii., 119.

It became known at Canterbury that the archbishop had landed. Then all in the town rejoiced from the least to the greatest. They decked the Cathedral. They put on silks and costly array. They prepared a great banquet for many people. The archbishop was received in solemn procession. The church resounded with hymns and music, the hall with rejoicing, the city everywhere with fulness of joy. He preached a most instructive sermon, taking for text "Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come." *

Herbert of Bosham. Materials, iii. 478.

On the morrow the archbishop left the harbour where he had landed, which was distant about six miles from Canterbury. As he approached the city he was awaited by the poor of the land as a victim sent from heaven, yea even as the angel of God, with prayer and ovation. But why do I say with ovation? Rather Christ's poor received him as the Lord's anointed. So wherever the archbishop passed crowds of poor, small and great, old and young, ran together, some throwing themselves in his way, others taking their garments and strawing them in the way, crying and exclaiming "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Likewise the priests with their parishioners met him in procession with their crosses, saluting their father, and, begging his blessing, reite-

* Heb. xiii. 14.

rated that oft-repeated cry, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." But wherefore thus? You would have said, had you seen, that the Lord a second time approached His Passion, and that among the children and the poor and the rejoicing people again He who died once at Jerusalem for the salvation of the whole world was now again ready to die at Canterbury for the English Church. And though the way was short yet among the thronging and pressing crowds scarce in that day could he reach Canterbury, where he was received with the sound of trumpets, with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs by the poor of Christ, his children, and by his holy monastery with the reverence and veneration due to their father. Then might you see at his first coming into the cathedral the face of this man, which many seeing marked and wondered at, for it seemed as though his heart aflame showed also in his face. . . And the disciple who wrote these things when he observed these things, and observed with wonder, recalled to mind what is told of Moses. . . . Then the archbishop standing on his episcopal throne received to the kiss of peace each brother, one by one, with many sighs and tears from all. And as he stood there stood by him the disciple who wrote these things, and said "My lord, it matters not now when you depart hence, since to-day in you Christ's Bride has conquered; yea, Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules." And he looked upon him that said these things, yet said he nothing.

And when all things in the cathedral were solemnly

ended the archbishop went to his palace, thus having finished that joyful and solemn day.

Becket to the Pope: Account of his landing and subsequent measures.

[This letter, which contains an account of his return, his reception, and his wrongs, was the last letter written by the archbishop to the pope on any personal matter. A letter on behalf of the monks of Newburgh against the archbishop of York may be of later date, but it contains no reference to his own present doings.]

Materials, vii., 401,

It is known to you with what just and honourable conditions I made peace with my lord the king of the English, as also how the king had withdrawn from his agreement and promise. The which nevertheless I believe should be imputed not so much to him as to those priests of Baal and sons of the false prophets who from the beginning have been the authors of discord. Of these the chief of all are the archbishop of York and the bishop of London, who returning from you when you were at Sens did not fear to seize our possessions though the king knew not of it and though two appeals were then pending, that of the archbishop of York against me and our counter appeal. And when these standard bearers of the Balaamites had heard that I had made peace with the king, in conjunction with the bishop of Salisbury and his accomplices they compassed sea and land to break the peace, endeavouring to persuade the king that a reconciliation would be useless and dishonourable unless the king's grants to churches

in my patronage were confirmed and I were compelled firmly to observe the customs concerning which the dissension at first arose between us. And they so far succeeded in their iniquity that by their advice the king after the peace detained all my revenues and those of my friends from the feast of S. M. Magdalene to the feast of S. Martin, then restoring to me vacant houses and demolished barns. And moreover his clerks, Geoffrey Ridel our archdeacon and Nigel de Sacville, to this day retain two churches which they received by lay presentation, and the king himself refuses to restore to us and to the Church many possessions of our Church which he promised in the terms of our reconciliation to restore. And although in other ways he acted contrary to his promises, since I saw the grievous and irreparable hurt of the Church, by your advice and that of the cardinals, I determined to return to my Church so torn and spurned, that if I was not able to raise and reform her at least I might, perishing with her, the more boldly give up my life for hers. The which when they had learnt in fear they imparted to the officials of the king and to that most wicked son of perdition Ranulf de Broc, who now these seven years has raged without measure against the Church of God. It was determined therefore to guard with armed bands all the ports at which I might land lest I should enter the country without all my baggage being thoroughly searched and all the letters which I had obtained from you taken from me. But by the Divine Will it happened that their machinations were made known

to me by friends, for their over-confidence would not suffer them to be hid. For the satellites, of whom we have spoken, guarded the coasts by the orders of the prelates of York, London, and Salisbury. And they chose for the execution of their malice those whom they knew to be my bitterest enemies, Ranulf de Broc, Reginald de Warenne, Gervase the sheriff of Kent, who openly threatened that if I should presume to land they would take off my head. And the said bishops went to Canterbury that they might the more incite their minions. Wherefore I, having diligently considered their schemes, on a certain day before I myself crossed, sent over your letters, and so those were handed to them in which the archbishop of York was suspended, and the bishops of London and Salisbury replaced under excommunication. On the following day I sailed myself, and reached my place after a prosperous voyage, taking with me by the king's demands John, dean of Salisbury, who saw not without some grief and shame the armed men, whom I have spoken of, hastening to our ship that they might do us violence. And the said dean, fearing lest if any evil happened to us or ours it should bring infamy on the king, advanced towards them and declared in the king's name that any who should hurt us would be guilty of treason against the king, with whom we had made peace. He thus persuaded them to lay aside their arms. Yet they demanded from Simon archdeacon of Sens (whom I had brought with me on a visit to his friends in England), an

oath that he would obey our king against all men, not excepting you or any other. But this I could not allow, lest that on this precedent the clergy of the kingdom should be compelled to a similar oath, if it were taken by our household. Because the said prelates and their accomplices ever plot for the destruction or lessening of the authority of the Apostolic See. The officials who demanded this oath were too few to constrain us to anything against our will in that place, for the people rejoicing at our return would have proved the stronger if force had been used.

Then coming to our Church we were received with great devotion by clergy and people: though the intruders still violently retain our churches, of whom in every plague and vexation of the Church the chief are Geoffrey Ridel, our archdeacon, and Nigel de Sacville, the king's clerk, of whom the former holds the church of Oxford, and the latter that of Herges, which, with all the revenues which they have seized, they are bound by your order to restore to us and our clerks. For you ordered the Archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Nevers to absolve them on taking the oath according to the custon of the Church* and to order them by your authority to restore to me the churches with their profits. Moreover when we had reached our cathedral, there came to us the officers of the king demanding on his behalf and on the information of the prelates of York and

* *Cf.* above pp. 53-54. *Const. Clar.*, cl. v.—Throughout the text of the letter there is constant reference to the customs.

Salisbury, that I should absolve those who were suspended and excommunicate, because what had been done to them turned to the hurt of the king and the overturning of the customs of the realm; promising at the same time that the bishops of my province would after absolution come to me and freely submit to the law, saving the honour of the kingdom. I answered that it did not belong to an inferior judge to loose the sentence of a superior, and that no man could invalidate what the Apostolic See had decreed. Yet because they urged me the more vehemently and threatened that the king, unless I agreed, would do marvellous and stupendous things, I said that if the bishops of London and Salisbury would swear in my presence according to the rule of the Church that they would obey your order, I, for the sake of the Church's peace and of reverence to the king, with her counsel and that of the bishop of Winchester and other of my brethren, would incur the responsibility and do whatsoever was compatible with obedience to you and would cherish them as my dearest brother in Christ and treat them with all kindness and humility. But when this was referred to them the archbishop of York answered that oaths of this kind ought not to be demanded save by the will of the king, especially from the bishops, because it was contrary to the authority of the king and the customs of the kingdom. Then it was answered them on my part that the same bishops had before been excommunicated by me, and had not obtained absolution,

though they had besought with much solicitation, until they had taken this oath. And if my sentence could not be dissolved without an oath from the bishops, much less could yours which was far stronger and incomparably more potent than mine or any other mortal power. At which answer (so those who were present told me) the bishops were so much moved that they decided to come to me and to receive absolution after the manner of the Church, not considering it safe that they should for the sake of preserving the customs of the realm impugn the apostolic decrees. But that enemy of peace and disturber of the Church, the archbishop of York, dissuaded them, counselling that they should go to the king, who was their protector, and send messengers to the young king that I intended to depose him, when, God is my witness, if he were well-disposed to the Church, I would rather that he had not one realm only but the largest and the most of any king on earth. My archdeacon was intrusted with this message since the archbishop of York and the two bishops hasted to cross the sea that they might win over the king and excite his anger against the Church. And they caused to be summoned six clergy of the vacant sees that in the king's presence by their counsel, contrary to the canons, and in a foreign land, in the absence of their brethren, the election to the vacant bishoprics in my presence should be made. But if I refuse to consecrate those so elected, they will have an occasion of sowing discord between me and the king. For there is

nothing which they fear more than the peace of the Church, lest perchance their works should be seen and their excesses corrected. My messenger will supply many things which for the sake of brevity I have not inserted in this letter. May it please you favourably to hear my petition. My dearest father, may your holiness ever fare well.

The young King's refusal to see him.

W. FitzStephen. Materials, v. iii., p. 121.

When the good archbishop Thomas had sojourned eight days in his see he sent a messenger to the young king, signifying that he would come to see him, his lord and king. And he sent, moreover, three valuable destriers* of remarkable swiftness, fine stature and handsome form, gaily caparisoned, as a gift to my lord king. For he loved him as his king, since also he had brought him up in his own house as a boy, when he was Chancellor to the king, his father.

The Bishop and the Cathedral of Rochester met him with all due reverence on the first day of his progress. In London he met a third procession which brought him to the church of the canons regular of the B. Mary in Southwark, and a vast multitude of clerks and of men and women came forth to greet him on his long desired return from exile, with great joy, praising and blessing God. The poor scholars and the clergy of the London churches had gathered together about three miles

* Equos dextrarios.

from the city, and when they saw the archbishop approach they began to sing aloud and clear "Te Deum laudamus"; so that as they wept for joy they melted all others into tears of piety. And he, rejoicing with their devotion and exultation in the Lord, gave thanks with bowed head, and took alms from his purse, which he caused to be distributed with full-handed compassion. When at length he had arrived and dismounted at the Canonical Church of Southwark, where he was to be a guest in the house of the Bishop of Winchester, the canons met him in procession at the door of the church with great joy, and amid many tears began the anthem "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel," and the vast multitude of people, the clergy and the people, of all ages and all ranks, took up, with mighty voice, the song of thankfulness and joy.

And there, amid the great noise, a certain foolish and immodest and babbling woman, who thrust herself into courts and public assemblies, one Matilda, cried out, and oft repeated "Archbishop, beware of the knife": so that all wondered what strange thing she had heard which she thus signified in such a guise of words.

As he tarried a day in the house of the Bishop of Winchester there came to him a messenger from the young King, Jocelin of Arundel, the queen's brother, who announced that the King would not that he should come to him, nor that he should visit the cities and castles of the realm, but that he should rather return to Canterbury, and remain in his own See, neither depart therefrom.

Then the archbishop was amazed and understood not that such things should come from the mind of the young king, and asked of Joccelin whether the king would shut him from his company and confidence. And he, "That which I have said did he command," and, departing haughtily, beheld a citizen of London, well known to him, and a rich man, to whom he said "And dost thou come to the king's enemy? Return quickly, I counsel thee." "Whether ye hold him the king's enemy I know not," he replied, "yet I have heard and seen the letters of the king over-sea concerning his peace and restoration; if aught remains hid, that I know not." And these were prophetic signs of evil before the event.

[Before long he heard that Ralf de Broc had robbed a ship of his; that that infamous family "sought every means to entangle him in a quarrel; and that Robert de Broc had waylaid a train of his pack-horses, and his nephew, John de Broc, had cut off the tail of one of the horses." Warnings, too, reached him from all sides, but he would not fly.]

Christmas Day:

William FitzStephen. Materials, vol. iii., p. 130.
Herbert of Bosham records at greater length.

On Christmas Eve he read the lection from the Gospel, the book of the Nativity, and celebrated the midnight Mass. Before the high Mass on the Festival, which he celebrated himself, he preached to the people, taking for his subject that whereon he was wont to ponder—that on earth there is peace to men of good-will. And when they made mention of

the holy Fathers of the Church of Canterbury who were therein confessors, he said that they had one martyr, archbishop Saint Elphege: and it was possible that in a short space they might have yet another.

Herbert of Bosham. Materials, vol. iii., p. 484.

He predicted at the end of his sermon that the time of his departure was at hand, and that in a short space he should pass from them; and when he said these things concerning his departure, verily, tears rather than words burst from him. So, likewise, the hearts of the hearers were beyond measure moved and contrite, so that you might hear throughout the church wailings, and weepings, and the murmurs of the people, "Father, why so soon dost thou desert us, and to whom dost thou leave us so desolate?" For these were no wolves, but sheep who knew the voice of their Shepherd, and grieved when they heard that he would so soon leave this world, knowing neither when nor wherefore this should come to pass.

William FitzStephen, as above.

And because of the infamous injury to the horse of his peasant-vassal, he bound Robert de Broc with the sentence of excommunication, as he had before warned him by messengers, inviting him to make satisfaction; but he, in his contumacy, had returned for answer, by a certain knight, David de Ruminel, "that if he excommunicated him, he should act as an excommunicate." Also those who had violently invaded his two churches, Harrow and Thirlwood,

and would not admit his officials, he involved in the same censure.

Herbert of Bosham, as above.

Truly had you seen these things you would have said that you saw face to face that animal of the prophet's vision, with the face of a lion and the face of a man. . . These things done, he who had shown himself so devout at the Lord's Table showed himself jocund as was his wont at the table of this world; and it being the Feast of the Nativity, though a Friday, he partook of meat as on another day, thus showing that at such a festival it was more religious to eat than to abstain.

The Departure of Herbert from him.

Herbert of Bosham. Materials, iii., 485.

On S. Stephen's day he called apart the disciple who wrote these things, saying: "I would send thee to my lord the king of France and to our venerable brother the archbishop of Sens and to other princes to tell them what thou hast heard and seen of this peace, how that this is a peace for us which is no peace, but rather war." To whom the disciple, unable to restrain his tears, "Holy father," he saith, "why dost thou thus? I know and am sure that I shall see thee in the flesh no more. And I determined to stay with thee faithfully; verily as it seemeth to me, thou seekest to deprive me of the fruit in thy consummation, who hitherto have been with thee in thy temptations, nor shall I be, so now I see, a companion of thy glory, I who have been a partaker of thy pain."

Then said the Archbishop with a burst of tears, "Not so, my son, not so; thou shalt not be deprived of the fruit, who fulfillest the command of thy father, and dost follow his counsel. Nevertheless what thou sayest and mournest is true indeed, that thou shalt see me in the flesh no more; and nevertheless I will that thou depart, especially because hath more enmity against thee than the others, for the sake of the Church."

On S. John the Evangelist's day, therefore, in the darkness of night, because we feared ambush, with wailing and many tears, again and again begging and receiving his blessing, I departed from my father, whom, as himself foretold, I never again saw in the flesh nor shall see. Yet, and with this I end my history, I pray with my whole heart, with all my soul and all my strength, that him whom I may not see again in time I may be worthy to see in eternity, and may be his partner in the crown, as I was his companion in the battle.

The King's rash words.

William FitzStephen. Materials, v. iii, p. 127.
In the main Mr. R. H. Froude's abridged translation.

The Archbishops of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, with the Archdeacon of Poictiers (the Archdeacon of Canterbury was delayed on the sea by bad weather), having crossed the water, came to the King's court. He had already heard of the suspension and excommunication of the bishops. They repeat to him the whole story. They lay all

the blame upon the Archbishop; they declare him to be guilty of treason in what he has done. Falsehood doubles his offence. It had been told the King that the Archbishop was making the circuit of the kingdom at the head of a large body of men. The King asks the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury to advise him what to do. "It is not our part" they say "to tell you what must be done." At length one says, "My lord, while Thomas lives, you will not have peace or quiet or see another good day." On hearing this, such fury, bitterness, and passion took possession of the King, as his disordered look and gesture expressed, that it was immediately understood what he wanted.

[Edward Grim, in describing the scene, adds the King's words—"I have nourished and promoted in my realm sluggish and wretched knaves who are faithless to their lord, and suffer him to be tricked thus infamously by a low clerk." The "one" that bitterly spoke against Thomas was the archbishop of York, as we learn from other accounts.]

When they saw his emotion, four knights, barons of the king's household, seeking to please him, named Reginald Fitz Urse, William de Traci, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, having sworn the death of the archbishop, departed, sailing from different ports. By the guidance of the devil, the old enemy of all good, they met at the same hour on the morrow at the castle of the family of Broc, at Saltwood.

[Garnier says that they were urged by Roger of York; that he gave them money, and suggested the words they used when they saw the archbishop. They arrived at Saltwood on Dec 28.

Meanwhile the king in council had sent a warrant for Becket's arrest, with orders to stop the knights, whose purpose was suspected. On the 29th the knights mustered a small force and set out for Canterbury.]

Dec. 29, 1170.—The Murder of the Archbishop.

Edward Grim. Materials, ii., 430.

[The account of Grim, who was an eye-witness, is given; further details are recorded by the other writers.]

Therefore the said persons, no knights but miserable wretches, as soon as they landed summoned the king's officials, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, and by lyingly declaring that they were acting by the king's orders and in his name they got together a band of followers. They then collected in a body, ready for any impious deed, and on the fifth day after the Nativity of Christ, that is on the day after the festival of the Holy Innocents, gathered together against the innocent. The hour of dinner being over, the saint had departed with some of his household from the crowd into an inner room, to transact some business, leaving a crowd waiting in the hall outside. The four knights with one attendant entered. They were received with respect as the servants of the king and well known; and those who had waited on the archbishop being now themselves at dinner invited them to table. They scorned the food, thirsting rather for blood. By their order the archbishop was informed that four men had arrived who wished to speak with him from the king. He consented and they entered. They sat for a long time in silence and did not salute the archbishop or

speak to him. Nor did the man of wise counsel salute them immediately they came in, that according to the Scripture, "By thy words thou shalt be justified," he might discover their intentions from their questions. After awhile, however, he turned to them, and carefully scanning the face of each one he greeted them in a friendly manner, but the wretches, who had made a treaty with death, answered his greeting with curses, and ironically prayed that God might help him. At this speech of bitterness and malice the man of God coloured deeply, now seeing that they had come for his hurt. Whereupon Fitz Urse, who seemed to be the chief and the most eager for crime among them, breathing fury, broke out in these words, "We have somewhat to say to thee by the king's command: say if thou wilt that we tell it here before all." But the archbishop knew what they were going to say, and replied, "These things should not be spoken in private or in the chamber, but in public." Now these wretches so burned for the slaughter of the archbishop that if the door-keeper had not called back the clerks—for the archbishop had ordered them all to go out—they would have killed him, as they afterwards confessed, with the shaft of his cross which stood by. When those who had gone out returned, he, who had before thus reviled the archbishop, said, "The king, when peace was made between you and all disputes were ended, sent you back free to your own see, as you demanded: but you on the other hand adding insult to your former

injuries have broken the peace and wrought evil in yourself against your lord. For those by whose ministry the king's son was crowned and invested with the honours of sovereignty, you, with obstinate pride, have condemned by sentence of suspension, and you have also bound with the chain of anathema those servants of the king by whose prudent counsels the business of the kingdom is transacted: from which it is manifest that you would take away the crown from the king's son if you were able. Now your plots and schemes you have laid to carry out your designs against the king are known to all. Say, therefore, are you ready to answer in the king's presence for these things: for therefore are we sent." To whom answered the archbishop, "Never was it my wish, God is my witness, to take away the crown from my lord the king's son, or diminish his power; rather would I wish him three crowns, and would aid him to obtain the greatest realms of the earth with right and equity. But it is not just for my lord the king to be offended because my people accompany me through the cities and towns, and come out to meet me, when they have for seven years been deprived of the consolation of my presence; and even now I am ready to satisfy him wherever my lord pleases, if in anything I have done amiss; but he has forbade me with threats to enter any of his cities and towns, or even villages. Moreover, not by me, but by the lord pope, were the prelates suspended from their office." "It was through you," said the madmen, "that they were suspended. Absolve them." "I do not deny,"

he answered, "that it was through me, but it is beyond my power, and utterly incompatible with my position that I should absolve those whom the pope has bound. Let them go to him, on whom redounds the contempt they have shown towards me and their mother the church of Christ at Canterbury."

"Now," said these butchers, "this is the king's command that you depart with all your men from the kingdom, and the land which lies under his sway: for from this day can there be no peace with you, or any of yours, for you have broken the peace." Then said he "Let your threats cease and your wranglings be stilled. I trust in the King of heaven, who for His own suffered on the Cross: for from this day no one shall see the sea between me and my church. I came not to fly; here he who wants me shall find me. And it befitteth not the king so to command; sufficient are the insults which I and mine have received from the king's servants, without further threats." "Thus did the king command," they replied, "and we will make it good, for whereas you ought to have shown respect to the king's majesty, and submitted your vengeance to his justice, you have followed the impulse of your passion and basely thrust from the church his ministers and servants." At these words Christ's champion, rising in fervour of spirit against his accusers, exclaimed "Whoso shall presume to violate the decrees of the sacred Roman see or the laws of Christ's church, and shall refuse to make satisfaction, whosoever he be I will not spare him, nor will I delay to inflict ecclesiastical censures on the delinquents."

Confounded at these words the knights sprang up, for they could bear his firmness no longer, and coming close to him they said, "We declare to you that you have spoken in peril of your head." "Do you come to kill me?" he answered, "I have committed my cause to the Judge of all; wherefore I am not moved by threats, nor are your swords more ready to strike than is my soul for martyrdom. Seek him who flees from you; me you will find foot to foot in the battle of the Lord." As they went out with tumult and insults, he who was fitly surnamed Ursus,* called out in brutal sort, "In the king's name we order you, both clerk and monk, that ye take and hold that man, lest he escape by flight ere the king have full justice on his body." As they went out with these words, the man of God followed them to the door and exclaimed, "Here, here shall ye find me"; putting his hand over his neck as though showing the place where they were to strike.

He returned then to the place where he had sat before, and consoled his clerks, and exhorted them not to fear; and, as it seemed to us who were present waited as unperturbed—though him alone did they seek to slay—as though they had come to invite him to a bridal. Ere long back came the butchers with swords and axes and falchions and other weapons fit for the crime which their minds were set on. When they found the doors barred and they were not opened to their knocking, they turned aside by a private way through the orchard to a wooden partition† which

* A bear. Fitz-Urse.

† So Canon Robertson and Dr. Giles translate "obstaculum."

they cut and hacked till they broke it down. At this terrible noise were the servants and clerks horribly affrighted, and, like sheep before the wolf, dispersed hither and thither. Those who remained called out that he should flee to the church, but he did not forget his promise not to flee from his murderers through fear of death, and refused to go; for in such case it were not meet to flee from city to city, but rather to give example to those beneath that every-one should rather fall by the sword than see the divine law set at nought and the sacred canons subverted. He who had long sighed for martyrdom now saw that as it seemed the occasion was now come, and feared lest he should delay it or put it away altogether if he went into the Church. But the monks were instant with him declaring that it were not fit he were absent from vespers which were at that moment being performed. He remained immoveable in that place of less reverence, for he had now in his mind caught a sight of the hour of happy consummation for which he had sighed so long, and he feared lest the reverence of the sacred place should deter even the impious from their purpose, and cheat him of his heart's desire. For, certain that he would depart in martyrdom from this misery, he had said after his return from exile in the hearing of many, "You have here one beloved of God and a true and holy martyr; another will the divine compassion send you; He will not delay." O pure and trustful was the conscience of that good shepherd, who in defending the cause of his flock would not delay his

own death when he was able, nor shun the tormentor, that the fury of the wolves, glutted with the blood of the shepherd, might spare the sheep. But when he would not be persuaded by argument or prayer to take refuge in the church the monks caught hold of him in spite of his resistance, and pulled, dragged, and pushed him, not heeding his clamours to be let go, and brought him to the Church.

But the door, through which was the way into the monk's cloister, had been carefully secured some days before, and as the tormentors were now at hand, it seemed to take away all hope of escape; but one of them, running forward, caught hold of the lock, and, to the surprise of all, unfastened it with as much ease as if it had been glued to the door.

When the monks had entered the church, already the four knights followed behind with rapid strides. With them was a certain subdeacon, armed with malice like their own, Hugh, fitly surnamed for his wickedness Mauclerc, who showed no reverence for God or the saints, as the result showed. When the holy archbishop entered the church, the monks stopped vespers which they had begun and ran to him, glorifying God that they saw their father, whom they had heard was dead, alive and safe. They hastened, by bolting the doors of the church, to protect their shepherd from the slaughter. But the champion, turning to them, ordered the church doors to be thrown open, saying, "It is not meet to make a fortress of the house of prayer, the church of Christ: though it be not shut up it is able to protect its own;

and we shall triumph over the enemy rather in suffering than in fighting, for we came to suffer, not to resist." And straightway they entered the house of peace and reconciliation with swords sacrilegiously drawn, causing horror to the beholders by their very looks and the clanging of their arms.

All who were present were in tumult and fright, for those who had been singing vespers now ran hither to the dreadful sight.

[*As he descended the steps towards the door, John of Salisbury and his other clerks, save Robert the canon† and William FitzStephen, and Edward Grim, who was newly come to him, sought shelter, some at the altars, some in hiding places, and left him. And, indeed, if he had wished, the archbishop might easily have saved himself by flight, for both time and place gave occasion. It was evening, a very long night at hand, and the crypt was near wherein are many dark recesses. There was also a door near by which a winding stair led to the lofts and roof of the church. But none of these ways would he take.]

Inspired by fury the knights called out, "Where is Thomas Becket, traitor to the king and realm?" As he answered not they cried out the more furiously, "Where is the archbishop?" At this, intrepid and fearless, as it is written, "The just, like a bold lion, shall be without fear," he descended from the stair

*The paragraph within brackets is from William FitzStephen, *Materials*, iii, pp. 139-140.

† Of Merton, the archbishop's confessor.

where he had been dragged by the monks in fear of the knights, and in a clear voice answered "I am here, no traitor to the king, but a priest. Why do ye seek me?" And whereas he had already said that he feared them not, he added, "So I am ready to suffer in His name, Who redeemed me by His Blood: be it far from me to flee from your swords, or to depart from justice." Having thus said, he turned to the right, under a pillar, having on one side the altar of the blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, on the other that of S. Benedict the Confessor: by whose example and prayers, having crucified the world with its lusts, he bore all that the murderer could do with such constancy of soul as if he had been no longer in the flesh. The murderers followed him; "Absolve," they cried, "and restore to communion those whom you have excommunicated, and restore their powers to those whom you have suspended." He answered: "There has been no satisfaction, and I will not absolve them." "Then you shall die," they cried, "and receive what you deserve." "I am ready," he replied, "to die for my Lord, that in my blood the Church may obtain liberty and peace. But in the name of Almighty God, I forbid you to hurt my people whether clerk or lay." Thus piously and thoughtfully, did the noble martyr provide that no one near him should be hurt or the innocent be brought to death, whereby his glory should be dimmed as he hastened to Christ. Thus did it become the martyr-knight to follow in the foot-

steps of his Captain and Saviour Who when the wicked sought Him said: "If ye seek Me, let these go their way." Then they laid sacrilegious hands on him, pulling and dragging him that they might kill him outside the Church, or carry him away a prisoner, as they afterwards confessed. But when he could not be forced away from the pillar, one of them pressed on him and clung to him more closely. Him he pushed off calling him "pander," and saying, "Touch me not, Reginald; you owe me fealty and subjection; you and your accomplices act like madmen." The knight, fired with terrible rage at this severe repulse, waved his sword over the sacred head. "No faith," he cried, "nor subjection do I owe you against my fealty to my lord the king." Then the unconquered martyr seeing the hour at hand which should put an end to this miserable life and give him straightway the crown of immortality promised by the Lord, inclined his neck as one who prays and joining his hands he lifted them up, and commended his cause and that of the Church to God, to S. Mary, and to the blessed martyr Denys. Scarce had he said the words than the wicked knight fearing lest he should be rescued by the people and escape alive, leapt upon him suddenly and wounded this lamb who was sacrificed to God on the head, cutting off the top of the crown which the sacred unction of the chrism had dedicated to God; and by the same blow he wounded the arm of him who tells this. For he, when the others, both monks and clerks, fled, stuck close to the sainted archbishop and

held him in his arms till the one he interposed was almost severed. Behold the simplicity of the dove, the wisdom of the serpent, in the martyr who opposed his body to those who struck that he might preserve his head, that is his soul and the Church, unharmed, nor would he use any forethought against those who destroyed the body whereby he might escape. O worthy shepherd, who gave himself so boldly to the wolves that his flock might not be torn. Because he had rejected the world, the world in wishing to crush him unknowingly exalted him. Then he received a second blow on the head but still stood firm. At the third blow he fell on his knees and elbows, offering himself a living victim, and saying in a low voice, "For the Name of Jesus and the protection of the Church I am ready to embrace death." Then the third knight inflicted a terrible wound as he lay, by which the sword was broken against the pavement, and the crown which was large was separated from the head; so that the blood white with the brain and the brain red with blood, dyed the surface of the virgin mother Church with the life and death of the confessor and martyr in the colours of the lily and the rose. The fourth knight prevented any from interfering so that the others might freely perpetrate the murder. As to the fifth, no knight but that clerk who had entered with the knights, that a fifth blow might not be wanting to the martyr who was in other things like to Christ, he put his foot on the neck of the holy priest and precious martyr, and, horrible to say, scattered his brains and blood over the pavement,

calling out to the others, "Let us away, knights; he will rise no more."

1171.—The King's reception of the News of the Murder.

Arnulf, Bishop of Leicester, to the Pope.

Materials, vii., 438.

Whilst we were lately assembled in council before our lord the king, and supposed we were going to discuss important matters connected with the Church, . . . we are told by some who are just come over from England, that certain enemies of the archbishop, provoked to madness, it is said, by frequent causes of exasperation, have suddenly set upon him, and—I can hardly write for my tears—have attacked his person and put him to a cruel death. At the first words of the messenger the king burst into loud lamentations, and exchanged his royal robes for sackcloth and ashes, acting more like a friend than the sovereign of the deceased. At times he ceased his cries and became stupid; after which he burst again into cries and lamentations louder than before. Three whole days he spent in his chamber, and would receive neither food nor consolation, but by the excess of his grief it seemed as if he had thoroughly made up his mind to die. The state of things indeed became alarming, and we had now a double cause for anxiety. First we had to lament the death of the bishop, now we almost despaired of the life of the king, and so in losing one we thought our evil fortune would deprive us of both.

1171.—The King's Embassy to the Pope. An Envoy to Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers.

Materials vii., 475. Dr. Giles's translation.

Who were the first messengers that the king sent, who the second, and what both deputations wanted, and how they left the court, I will tell you in as few words as possible. The first envoys were John Cumin and master David, and their object was to obtain absolution and indulgence for the bishops. John Cumin arrived about fifteen days before master David, and with much entreaty was admitted to a hearing, not however until he promised a douceur of five hundred marks. He was backed by some clerks from the archbishop of York, and an envoy from Durham, who spoke much in extenuation of the offence of the bishops. And it is my opinion that they would have obtained their absolution, if the news of the archbishop of Canterbury's death had not come, and thrown everything into confusion. Our lord the pope was so shocked at the news, that for eight days he refused to see even his own people; and issued a general edict that no Englishman should be admitted into his presence. All their negotiations were at once suspended. The second embassy consisted of the bishops Worcester and Evreux, the abbat of Wallasey, the archdeacons of Salisbury and Lisieux, lord Robert of Newburgh, Richard Barre, master Henry Pinchin, and a Templar; their object was to defend the king from having either ordered or wished that the archbishop should be put to death;

but they did not deny that he had given cause for his death by uttering words which had led the murderers to slay him. But these second envoys did not arrive together, nor would the pope admit them or give them a hearing. In the next place, at the entreaty of certain of the cardinals, the abbat and archdeacon of Lisieux were admitted.

The Thursday before Easter was approaching, and it was generally said in the court that the lord pope would that day pass sentence of excommunication on the king and the kingdom. The ambassadors, therefore, in terror signified to the pope through the mediation of the cardinals, that they were instructed by the king to swear that he would abide by his holiness's decision, and would himself make oath in his own person to the same effect. On Thursday, therefore, about the same hour, the messengers of the king and of the bishops were summoned, and the former, namely, the abbat of Wallasey, the two archdeacons, Henry, and Richard Barre, swore in a full consistory that the king would abide by the pope's sentence, and make oath to that effect in his own person. The envoys of the bishops of London and Salisbury then swore that their masters would stand by his decision, and would make oath to do so in like manner.

On the same day the pope excommunicated in general terms the murderers of the archbishop of Canterbury, and all who had given counsel, consent, or assistance to them, or received them on their estates. After Easter the bishops of Worcester and

Evreux arrived, but I do not know whether they were called on to take the oath: it is certain they did not take it. When they had been more than fifteen days at court, they were summoned to hear their answer: for they had made common cause with the others, as well in excusing as in accusing the king, as I have before stated. Whilst they were expecting a favourable reply, the pope confirmed the sentence of interdict, which his lordship of Sens had pronounced against the king's cismarine territories, and the excommunication and suspense which had been passed on the bishops. He ordered also that the king should abstain from entering the church; and added that he would send legates to see if the king was truly humbled. At last, after much urgency on the part of the envoys, and the intervention of certain cardinals, not without a large sum of money, as it is said, passed between them, it was decided that the pope should write to the archbishop of Bourges with instructions, if he should not hear that the legates had passed the Alps within a month after the arrival of the envoys in Normandy, to absolve the bishops of London and Salisbury from excommunication, having first administered an oath to them and others who were suspended, that they would abide by the pope's decision. Thus the envoys returned without any answer. I do not believe even the cardinals know who are to be the legates, or when they are to start. However, you are now free from all fear of an interdict in England, as I believe, if the king will listen to the legates. The lord pope has also

written to the king, exhorting him to humility. But they had much difficulty in persuading him to write.

Miracles.

[Within a few days of the murder, a number of miraculous cures were recorded, which were attributed either to the invocation of the archbishop or to the power of his blood. Before long drops of the blood were put in phials with water, and extraordinary results of multiplication and healing followed. Out of the mass of miracles, a few have been selected as examples.]

William of Canterbury. Materials, i., 413.

1. To his very dear lord in Christ, Jeremy monk of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury, brother Anselm a monk of Reading, sendeth greetings.

I am bound by the number of miracles that have taken place to let you know how illustrious the martyr Thomas has become among us. Receive therefore what we saw with our eyes. By order of lord William abbat of Reading I went to Wycombe to return the same day to Reading. Having done the business on which I had gone, I was returning home and crossed the Thames at Marlow by the bridge, myself on foot, my horse going before. About halfway across, the horse's hindquarters fell through a hole in the bridge up to his flanks, his legs hanging beneath the bridge. The bystanders ran up and tried with poles to lift the horse, but the few who could get at him could not lift him, and the weakness and the shape of the bridge would not let more come to my aid. Those who had tried in vain to help me went away, leaving me with the one piece of advice that I should enlarge

the hole and let the horse fall into the river. But from this course the waning light, my father's orders, the night near at hand, and the long way, dissuaded me. Left alone to God I looked around and there was no aid; I sought and found none that would help me. Then in the bitterness of my soul I turned with many sighs to the blessed martyr Thomas whose relics I wore round my neck and began to invoke him. A wonderful thing then happened. In a way I cannot describe, without human help, at my invocation of the holy martyr, the Lord put my horse on his feet, and directed my steps, and put a new song in my mouth, a hymn to my God, Who is above all things blessed for ever.

[This is followed by an account of another Reading monk who was a leper. He tried the Bath waters, and spent all the money he could beg on physicians, but in vain. He was cured by the "Canterbury Water."]

1172, May.—The King's Submission.

Materials, vii., 513. *Dr. Giles's translation.*

The first meeting between our lord the king and the legates took place at Gorham on the Tuesday before Rogation; and the legates were admitted to kiss his Majesty on the cheek. The next day they came to Savigny, where the archbishop of Rouen and many bishops and nobles were assembled. After a long conference, the king refused to take the oath which they required, and left them in great anger, saying "I shall return to Ireland, where I have many things to attend to; and you may go anywhere you

please in my dominions, and exercise your legation as you think proper," and so saying he left them.

After this the cardinals held a secret council with Lisieux, the archdeacon of Poitiers, and the archdeacon of Salisbury, and by their mediation the king and cardinals again met at Avranches on the following Friday. His majesty then heard all the cardinals had to propose, and assented with great urbanity and kindness to all their suggestions. But he wished his son to be present, and join in the terms which should be agreed to, for which cause the meeting was again adjourned to the following Sunday, which was the Sunday before the Lord's Ascension. On that day the king, laying his hand on the Gospels, made oath that he had never commanded nor wished that the archbishop of Canterbury should be put to death, and that when he heard of it, he rather grieved than rejoiced. He added also of his own accord, that he grieved more than he did for the death of his father or mother, and swore that he would perform to the letter whatever penance or satisfaction the cardinals should require of him. For he admitted before all that he had been the occasion of the archbishop's death, which had taken place entirely through him; not that he had commanded it, but that his friends and attendants seeing the alteration in his countenance and the flashing of his eye judged how his mind was disturbed within him, and when they heard his words of complaint about the archbishop, they prepared to revenge his wrongs, for which cause he would now do all that the legates required of him.

Upon this the legates signified to him that he should find two hundred knights at his own expense, and maintain them for a year at the rate of three hundred pieces a man to fight against the Saracens in the Holy Land, under the command of the Templars.

Secondly, to renounce the unlawful statutes of Clarendon, and all other bad customs which had been introduced into the church during his reign; and to allow all such bad customs as had been introduced before his own reign to be investigated and modified by the authority of the pope and a council of religious men.

Thirdly, to make ample restitution to the church of Canterbury, both of its goods and landed possessions, in the same state as they existed the year before the archbishop incurred the king's anger; and to reinstate all others who had been in disgrace for adhering to the archbishop, and take them again into his favour.

Fourthly, if necessary, and the pope should require it, to go into Spain and free that country from the pagans.

Besides all this they enjoined him privately to practise fasting and almsgiving, and other acts which never came to the knowledge of the public.

The king readily assented to all, saying, "My lords the legates, I am wholly in your hands, and I shall do whatever you tell; I will go to Rome, to Jerusalem, or to S. James, if you wish it." All who were present were much moved at the humility and contrition of his manner.

When this was settled, the legates, to leave nothing undone, led the king out with his own free will, out of the church, and there kneeling upon his knees, but without stripes, he received absolution, and was introduced anew into the church.

In the next place, that some of the French king's people might be informed how this ceremony had been performed, it was determined that the archbishop of Tours and his suffragans should be requested to meet the king and the legates at Caen on the ensuing Tuesday after Ascension-day.

The king made oath that he would perform all that had been agreed on, and the young king swore that, if his father should be prevented by death or any other cause from doing so as he had promised, he would himself discharge the obligation for him.

1173, March 12.—The Canonisation. Pope Alexander to the Chapter of Canterbury.

Materials, vii., 545.

Joy for the whole body of the faithful at the miracles of that revered saint, Thomas your archbishop; but joy in particular for you, who have with your own eyes witnessed his miracles, and whose church is honoured by his sacred corpse. We, therefore, considering the glorious merits by which his life was distinguished, the public fame of his miracles, and the testimony of our beloved sons, the cardinals Albert and Theodwine, and others in whom we place full confidence, and having moreover taken counsel with our brethren in the Church before a

large multitude of the clergy and of the laity, have solemnly canonized him, and decreed that he shall be enrolled in the catalogue of the saints and martyrs; and we command you and the whole English Church by apostolical authority, to solemnize his feast yearly on the day on which he finished his life by glorious martyrdom. Since, therefore, it is right and expedient to yourselves that his holy body should be buried with the reverence and honour that is his due, we command you to make solemn procession on some fitting day, when the clergy and people are met together, and place his body, with all reverence, on an altar, or elevate it in a chest suitable for the purpose, and pray that his pious intercessions for the whole body of the faithful, and the peace of the universal church, may be offered up unto the Lord. Given at Signia, the 4th before the Ides of March.

1174, July 12.—Of the memorable penance of the King of the English and of what followed thereon.

William of Newburgh (Rolls' Series)* i., 187.

King Henry the Second had now come into England to throw the strength of his presence against his son who was coming with the Flemish forces. But remembering how much he had sinned against the Church of Canterbury he went thither as soon as he had landed and prayed with many tears at the sepulchre of the blessed Thomas. He entered the chapter of the monks and very humbly lying

* A somewhat fuller account of the penance is given in Gervase of Canterbury, i., 248.

prostrate on the ground he besought pardon; and, at his own petition, though he were so great a man yet was he beaten with rods by each of the brethren in turn. On the following night it was said to a venerable monk of the same church in dreams: "Hast thou not seen to-day a great miracle of royal humility? Know that in a short space the event will declare how greatly this humility hath pleased the King of Kings!" I learned this from a most reverend and sincere man, Roger, abbat of Byland, who said that he had heard it from a most trustworthy person who was at that time making sojourn in Kent. Verily, He Who toucheth the mountains and they smoke soon made known by a notable proof how much he valued the devotion of that smoking mountain. For on that day, and, as is said, at that very hour in which the mountain smoked at Canterbury, the Divine power overthrew his most mighty enemy the king of Scots on the extreme borders of England.*

[The Pope's direction for the translation of the body of the archbishop was not soon obeyed. After the burning of the choir of the cathedral, Sept. 5, 1174, the whole of the east end was rebuilt on a much larger scale. By the year 1185, Alan of Tewkesbury urged the translation of the bones to the shrine in the chapel of the Blessed Trinity, then complete, behind which there had been erected the new circular apse, in imitation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which has since been known as "Becket's Crown." But the disturbed reigns of Richard and John, and the secular interests of the archbishops, allowed no opportunity

* *Cf.* Jordan Fantosme's poem where the story is told in full of the good news reaching Henry after his penance.

for this ceremony; and it was not until the throne of Henry III. was secure, under the wise guardianship of Stephen Langton, that Honorius III., on Jan. 25th, 1219, formally authorised the translation. Of the ceremony itself the fullest account is that of the Icelandic Saga, which bears signs of the work of an eye-witness.]

The Translation of S. Thomas. June 27, 1220.—Removal of the Bones of the Martyr.

Saga, ii., 196.

In the days of Pope Honorious, the third of that name, who sat the eighth in the apostolic see after pope Alexander the third, and in the days of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who was the fourth after the worthy Thomas who held rule in that see, the love and miracles of the holy Thomas so enkindled the hearts of the English people, that, by the consent and the agreement of the lord pope, they will endure no longer that their most glorious father shall lie so low in the crypt as when first he was entombed, but rather desire that he be honoured and raised into a worthy place, in order that all folk may bow to him and become partakers of his merits. . . . . Lord archbishop Stephen also commandeth all canons, monks, and all the learned men assembled (at Canterbury) to fast amid holy prayers for the next three days, before going down to the resting-place of God's martyr. And when the chest had been made in a fair fashion, with a trusty lock to it, the lord archbishop goeth down into the crypt, together with the learned men, some while after compline, when the world's folk were already at rest. This took

place on the fifth of the calends of July, two nights, to wit, before the mass of the apostles Peter and Paul. They now proceed altogether in such due humility unto the stone vault, that they prostrate themselves to earth in tearful prayers around the tomb Having prayed a long time and devoutly, the archbishop ordereth certain of the monks to remove the marble slab which closed the stone vault. And having done this, they find the fair treasure and fragrant organ of the Holy Ghost shrouded in such raiment as appertaineth to the highest teacher, which however, when it was touched, fell into dust by reason of its great eld. The devotion of those present while performing this work was borne out by their flowing tears. The same brothers who had laid open the grave took up the most holy bones, laying them down again on a certain costly cloth. And this having been done with all care, they bring the holy relic before the archbishop himself. Then the chest is brought forward, for the archbishop chooseth for himself the service of laying the bones into the chest, which was done in such a way that a white weed was laid over and above. But whilst he ministereth at this blessed service, disposing the bones, the learned men lie kneeling around in prayers and tears. A small portion of the bones the archbishop leaveth outside the chest in order to divide them among certain glorious cathedral churches, or to make a loving present of them unto certain excellent persons, in order that the memory of God's dearly beloved one may spread

the more, the more widely his holy relics shall be worshipped. All this having been fairly fulfilled, and the chest having been closed, the archbishop enjoineth the same brothers to carry it away unto a certain honourable yet hidden place, for in this matter he acteth on the forethought that the solemn translation of Thomas shall happen then first when news hath had time to go abroad throughout the land, that the greatest lords both from the Church and from the pope's court may be present at so blessed a service.

Tuesday, July 7, 1220.—The Translation.

Saga, ii., 202.

Concerning this the master relateth that he may not tell the number of the multitude of folk that assembled on the said day at Canterbury, for the city of Canterbury and the villages around were so filled with folk that many had to abide in tents or under the open sky. These two lords were there, the worthy father and legate of the holy see, Pandulfus by name, and the archbishop of Rheims. None besides these know we to mention as having come from abroad, but among those from England we name first king Henry, the son of Henry,* who was there surrounded by each baron and every kind of mighty folk, therewithal bishops, abbats, priors, and other states of learned men from different parts. Now, in God's name, cometh the third hour of the

* The transcriber evidently confused Henry III. with Henry the son of Henry II., who was himself after his coronation called Henry III., and who died before his father, July 11, 1183.

nones of July, at which hour the bishop standeth robed together with the other bishops and orders of learned men afore-named, who then proceed amidst solemn singing down into the crypt where the chest was kept. The solemnity with which it was brought thence up into the church and was placed over the altar, where preparations had been made for it, may be best told in these few words, that the church of Canterbury showed forth freely every honour which she could do to her father, in bells rung, in song, and vestments, not only inside the church, but also in the joyance in which the city showed its solemn delight, the king and all other folk deeming themselves as partakers of a divine gift if they might in any way minister to the new festival. It is a matter not soon told, what sort of thanksgiving was performed that same day for the honour of the blessed Thomas, for that very ceremony grew so long for the sake of the offerings and the devotion of the people that it seemed as if it were never coming to an end at all.

Of the Shrine.

Saga, ii., 210.

The next thing done by lord Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, was that in his devotion he resolved to turn the offerings made to the holy Thomas into a shrine for him. And when this had been settled by the urging of the king and other mighty folk in the land, the archbishop procureth for the work the greatest master of the craft that could be found within those lands. But when the commonalty of

England got full certainty of this, the love which the people owe to S. Thomas was soon revealed, since they would hear of his shrine being made of no other metal than gold alone, which indeed had to be done. Hence the pilgrims to S. Thomas's shrine repeat the saw of the English, that after that time England never grew so wealthy in gold as before, and for that they give thanks to God. Now, by their mighty cost and choice workmanship, the shrine was the most excellent work of art that had ever been seen, being set all round with stones, wherever beauty and show might thereby be best set off. When the shrine was finished the archbishop layeth therein the holy relics of the worthy martyr, archbishop Thomas, and placed it above the middle of the high altar, only so high that it rested on the upper table thereof, one face of it pointing eastwards, the other westwards.

Miracles.

The healing of Prior Robert.

Saga, ii., 93.

He who gave good heed to the beginning of the story must have heard mentioned, more than once, prior Robert, who hath written in Latin many things to the glory of the blessed Thomas. Now of these things must be set down, in the first place, what he announceth as concerning himself, and even that which, as he eketh out the story, toucheth the heavenly mercy granted through the merits of the archbishop. These matters the prior beginneth with a salutation to a certain brother, hight Benedict.

This Benedict had heard great rumour gone abroad as to how the holy Thomas had wrought a beautiful miracle on prior Robert, inasmuch as he had cured a certain hurt of his leg which the prior had borne long with great trouble. And for the sooth certainly thereof brother Benedict wrote to the prior praying him to set forth in a full manner in writing how the miracle came to pass, which writing he received in the following form.

Prior Robert, the least slave among the servants of God, to brother Benedict sendeth the greeting that he may live with God. What thou didst ask of me in the strength of thy love, I have now done to the best of my power, though failing to do it as well as I should have wished, inasmuch as my clerkship sufficed not to write the miracle in such a fair fashion as duty demandeth and exacteth of me, for the honour of God and the blessed Thomas. Now I begin the matter, when as twelve years ago, I happened to be all the way out in Sicily. But for what reason I had come there so far away from my native country I see no cause to set forth in this writing, wherefore I let that pass by. Now it so happened as I was making my journey from the town of Catania, being minded to proceed to Syracuse, that the road along which I was travelling turned such way, that the sea, called the Adriatic, was on the left hand of me. Thou hast both heard and read how that sea is of a boisterous nature, both as to tide and huge surf, most chiefly so if a strong south wind urge it on unto the land, so that speedy danger

awaiteth both men and ships that may happen to drift into that sea in such a storm. In such manner breakers tumble against the shore with great surf, that everything is in risk of being wrecked which happeneth to be taken unawares, for the nature of that sea is marvellous strange when it toucheth aught, as I found out concerning myself, for just as my way lay close along the very sea, a billow travelling against the shore smote me so hard outside on the thigh and the leg down below the knee that the flesh swelled forthwith, and the skin was smitten with malignant redness. Yet I found my way unto Syracuse, and I sought for my leg every kind of ease I could think of, according to the advice of good men, and at last a change was brought on through plasters and other medicines, so that the swelling went down, and I thought I was well nigh whole again. Then I returned on my way back to Rome, and for the several nights I dwelt there I thought the leg was still more healed, so that all the way home to England I was free from pain. But shortly afterwards the swelling made itself felt again, yet not so painful as it had been in the first case. And this I bore for nine years, endeavouring to cure my leg by bleeding, by plasters, nourishment, ointment and sundry medicines. But all these things having been tried, the hurt grew so heavy that all the attempts were of no avail; whereupon the thigh and the leg ulcerated with open sores and matter issuing therefrom both up and down, the very swelling growing so high even as was the thickness of the thigh itself. But where the leg seemed smoother and less

swollen, there small boils would burst out with itching, while in other places large blains blew up filled with water and smarting sorely. And now the leg became very nearly all hollow with gathering matter, accompanied with such pain that I might scarcely endure any covering laid thereon, or lifted thereoff. And the physicians said that I had, without doubt, caught the disease which is called *morbus chronicus*, and is not to be healed by the hand of man. Yet God gave me such strength withal, that I could always get to holy Church, but whenever I ministered to my duties, I had to do all things asitting, yea, even when I preached sermons before the people of our city. And during the last year that I bore this illness, the hurt grew so sore on me towards Eastertide that I fell into heaviness of mind lest I should not be able to minister to any service at our Lord's Passion, or His glorious Resurrection. What more or further I prayed the gracious Lord for his mercy, and he listened to me, a sinner, granting me the comfort that from Maundy Thursday even unto the fourth day after Easter I might do all service within the Church which it was chiefly my duty to perform. But after this my hurt grew so painful anew, even more so than before, if more it could be. It now entered into my heart, on hearing daily reports of the blessed miracles which the holy archbishop Thomas was working at Canterbury, that I had better visit his grave, whatever it might cost me. Having made up my mind, I betook me from home, and worked my way to Canterbury, weary with the long way, and sorely smitten with the hurt of my

sickness. I knelt down at the grave of God's martyr, praying for mercy and healing through his word of intercession with our Lord. And up I rose from that place in such a manner that I had received more than at the time I was aware of. Now I got the water (from the well) of St. Thomas, wherein I bathed the leg before I went to sleep; the which I did for three nights running. When I turned back on my way home, the disease took a different turn at my attempts at driving it out, for now I grew easier day by day, so that, when I came home, my leg was thoroughly whole, there being nowhere a mark or a scar to be seen, neither blain nor boil, to show that it had ever been diseased. Now, thou mayest see and understand, my dearest brother, what praise and thanks they gave unto God and His worthy martyr who had seen my long infirmity. And I tell your love, that for any exertion this leg is much stronger than the other, which was never diseased. Now this matter is truly told to the end. May God preserve thee, my good friend, and strengthen thy brotherhood in the keeping of all His commandments.

The magnificence of the Shrine at the end of the Middle Ages.

Venetian relation of England, Camden Society, p. 30.

The tomb of S. Thomas the martyr, archbishop of Canterbury, exceeds all belief. Notwithstanding its great size it is all covered with plates of pure gold; yet the gold is scarcely seen from the various precious stones with which it is studded, as sapphires, balasses,

diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; and wherever the eye turns something more beautiful than the rest is observed. Nor, in addition to these natural beauties, is the skill of art wanting, for in the midst of the gold are the most beautiful sculptured gems, both small and large, as well as such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians, and cameos, and some cameos are of such a size that I am afraid to name it; but everything is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumb-nail, which is set to the right of the altar. The church is somewhat dark, and particularly in the spot where the shrine is placed; and when we went to see it, the sun was near setting, and the weather was cloudy; nevertheless I saw that ruby as if I had it in my hand. They say it was given by a King of France.*

The Shrine on the Eve of the Reformation.

Erasmus, Colloquia, Ed. Elzevir, pp. 331, *et seq.*

[Erasmus, who saw everything with the keenest eyes, yet not without reverence for antiquity, thus describes how he saw the shrine and the relics. This was at the time of their greatest magnificence, and only fourteen years before their destruction.]

Ogygius. Iron screens prevent ingress, but allow a view of the space between the extreme end of the church and the place which they call the choir. Thither you ascend by many steps, under which a vault opens passage to the north side. There is shown a wooden altar dedicated to the Blesed Virgin, but mean and not remarkable for anything save as a monument of antiquity, putting to shame the extravagance of these times. Here the holy man is said to have said his last

* Louis VII.

farewell to the Virgin when his death was at hand. On the altar is the point of the sword by which the head of the most excellent prelate was cleft, and his brain dashed out that death might be more instant. For love of the martyr we religiously kissed the sacred rest of this sword. Departing hence we descended to the crypt, which has its own mystagogues. There is shown first the perforated skull of the martyr; the relics are enclosed in silver, the upper part of the head being left bare to be kissed. At the same time is shown a plate of lead with the inscription "Thomas Acrensis."* There hang there in the dark the hair shirt, the girdles and bands wherewith that prelate subdued his flesh, striking horror by their very appearance, and reproaching us for our softness and indulgence.

Menedemus. Perchance also the monks?

Ogy. That I can neither affirm nor deny, nor does it concern me.

Men. You say right.

Ogy. From thence we returned into the choir. On the north side the aumbries were unlocked; wonderful it is to tell what a quantity of bones were brought out, skulls, chins, teeth, hands, fingers, whole arms, all of which we adored and kissed. . . . . After this we were taken into the sacrarium. What a pomp of silk vestments was there, and of golden candlesticks.

* In 1190, on the capture of Acre, a military order was founded in honour of S. Thomas, and from the association of his name as Patron with the order, the title seems to have been applied to himself.

There we saw the pastoral staff of S. Thomas. It appeared to be a cane covered with silver plate. It was of very little weight and no workmanship, and stood no higher than the waist.

Men. Was there no cross?

Ogy. I saw none. A pallium was shown, wholly of silk, but of coarse texture, and adorned with no gold or gems. There was also a sudary, dirty from wear, and having manifest marks of blood. These relics of ancient simplicity we willingly kissed.

Men. Are these not shown to everybody?

Ogy. By no means, my good friend.

Men. Whence then was there such confidence in you that no secret thing was reserved?

Ogy. I was known to the most reverend father William Warham, the archbishop, and he had given me a note of introduction. . . . . From hence we were taken back to the upper floor, for behind the high altar there is another ascent as though into a new church. There in a little chapel is shown the whole figure of the good man, gilt, and adorned with many jewels.*

Ogy. He opened to us the shrine in which what is left of the body of the holy man is said to rest.

[Thereon follows a discussion between one of the travellers and the sacristan, the former arguing that the saint, whose charity was so great, would be better pleased if the money expended on his shrine had been given to the poor. After this there came the prior, "a godly and prudent man, and not unversed in the Scotist Theology," who showed them the rest of the relics.]

* This appears to have been a bust of life size, adorned and gilded.—Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 285.

Men. Did you see the bones?

Ogy. That is not permitted, nor is it indeed possible without a ladder. But a wooden shrine covers the golden shrine, and when that is drawn up with ropes it lays bare inestimable treasures. The meanest part was gold, every part glistened, shone, and sparkled with rare and very large jewels, some of them exceeding the size of a goose's egg. Then some monks stood around, with much veneration; when the covering was raised we all worshipped. The prior with a rod pointed out each jewel, telling its name in French, its value and the name of the donor. For the chief of them kings had sent as offerings,

The destruction of the Shrine and Relics.

[In August, 1538, king Henry VIII., then in the high tide of his iconoclastic reformation, ordered the destruction of the shrine. It is stated that the archbishop Thomas Becket had been cited as a traitor and sentence passed upon him after a mock trial, but the authorities for this are far from conclusive, although Paul III., in his Bull, *Cum Redemptor Noster* (Dec. 17, 1538), alludes to it. The following authorities contain the clearest account of the destruction. Stowe, though he wrote some twenty-five years after the event, is too accurate a writer to be distrusted.]

i. [From the Consistorial Acts. *Annales Eccl.* (cont. Baronii) tom. xiii. Lucæ, 1755, p. 494.]

At Rome on October 28, 1538, there was a consistory. His holiness made known a new savagery and impiety of the king of England, who had ordered the body of the blessed Thomas of Canterbury to be burnt and the ashes scattered to the winds, having despoiled the shrine, and the gold vessels and precious

stones, the number of which in the shrine was great.

ii. [From *Stowe, Annals*, Sept. 1538. First edition published in 1565. Ed. 1631, p. 576.]

S. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury was suppressed and the shrine and goods taken to the king's Treasury, as also the shrine of Thomas Becket in the Priory of Christ's Church was likewise taken to the king's use. This shrine was builded about a man's height, all of stone, then upward of timber plain, within the which was a chest of iron containing the bones of Thomas Becket* skull and all, and the piece cut out of his skull laid in the same wound. These bones (by commandment of the Lord Cromwell) were then and there brent.†

The timber of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold, damasked with gold wire, which ground of gold was again covered with jewels of gold, as rings ten or twelve, cramped with gold wire into the said ground of gold, many of those rings having stones in them, brooches, images, angels, precious stones, and great pearls, etc. The spoil of which shrine in gold and precious stones filled two great chests such as six or seven men could do no more than convey one of them at once out of the church. The monks of that church were commanded to change their habit into the apparel of secular priests.

* This was the iron chest in which the bones had been placed by Abp. Stephen Langton. The monks appear to have put the skull and the separate piece into the same chest at the first hint of danger.

† Burnt.

APPENDIX.

ACCOUNTS OF THE AUTHORS CITED AND BOOKS QUOTED.

Benedict of Peterborough.

Benedict, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, had known Becket, and wrote his life and an account of the martyrdom and the miracles which followed. Only fragments of the life are known, but the "History of the Passion and Miracles of S. Thomas" is printed entire in Canon Robertson's edition of the Materials for the Archbishop's history. Benedict appears to take considerable pains in recording and sifting the occurrences he describes. His first four "books" refer to the year after the murder, after which his arrangement is less methodical and so far as the work is his own it may have been compiled at a later date.

His own collection was made in the years 1171-2, and the value which attaches to it is due to the period of its composition, for it stands first in chronological order among the sources of our information. Benedict was Chancellor to Archbishop Richard, of Dover, Benedict's successor, became Prior of Christ Church in 1175, was elected Abbat of Peterborough in 1177, and died in 1193.

Garnier.

Garnier, "the clerk, born at Pont-Sainte Maxence" (so he styles himself), wrote a life of Becket in French verse, which he began in the second year from Becket's death, and finished in 1176. He calls it "un sermun del martir Saint Thomas e de sa passiun," and says that he took the greatest care to be accurate

and complete. He had himself seen his hero, when, as Chancellor, he led the troops of the English King. He questioned those who had known the Archbishop longest, and he visited his sister the Abbess of Barking, from whom he received much information. He stayed some time at Canterbury, and, as he wrote, he read what he had written, that it might be corrected by the Prior of Christ Church and the monks, and might serve for the edification of the pilgrims who came to the Martyr's tomb.

It has every appearance of truthfulness and it often adds, by quaintly vivid touches, considerably to the knowledge which we derive from Latin biographers. Of its success at the time of its publication the author speaks with pride. Rich gifts of money and apparel, horses and chattels rewarded him; and no man said "Where goest thou?" for near all the world seemed his.

He wrote as the poet of the poor: it is his voice which proclaims the Martyr as the people's hero. He protests against the law [*Const. Clar.* 16] which would forbid the ordination of villeins; he declares that God has chosen men "nés de basse gent" of old, rather than "dukes and high persons," for His Apostles and to sit on the thrones in Heaven.

Garnier is not only an historical authority of the highest value: he is also a poet of considerable skill, and his work is an important link in the history of the French language. "Mis languages est bons: car en France fui nez" is his boast. The poem is written in stanzas of five lines, each rhyming, and contains in all 5835 lines.

The edition used has been that edited by M. Hippeau, and published in 1859.

William FitzStephen.

William FitzStephen is perhaps the best of all the biographers. He says "I was the fellow citizen of my lord, his chaplain, and of his household, called by his mouth to be a sharer of his cares. I was his remembrancer in the chancery, in chapel, when he

celebrated, I was sub-deacon; when he sat to hear causes I was the reader of the letters and documents that were put in, and, at his command, sometimes the advocate of certain causes. I was present with him at the Council at Northampton, where matters of so great import occurred; I saw his passion at Canterbury, and many other things which are here written I saw with my eyes and heard with my ears; others again I learnt from those who witnessed them." He was present at the murder, and thus from first to last is an authority of the highest value. Some difficulty, however, surrounds the work. Curiously, there is no external evidence of its authenticity or even of its author's having been with Becket. No other biographer alludes to this life, or to FitzStephen, though he was present at the turning points of the Archbishop's career. In the "Catalogus Eruditorum S. Thomae," which professes to be a complete list of the Martyr's followers, the name does not occur. When the quadripartite life was composed about 1220, no extracts from his work were inserted. But the internal evidence of genuineness is strong; there is a force and vigour in the narration which seem to be powerful evidences of contemporary work. The manuscripts are of a date little later than the probable period of publication: the Bodleian MS. [Douce, 287] belonged to the abbey of Lesnes in Kent founded by Richard de Lucy in memory of the Martyr. The conclusion may well be that FitzStephen's book was not written, or at least not made public, until the death of Henry II., by which time the latest of the other lives had been completed, and that the author, who preserved his own position through all the changes of the years of quarrel between King and archbishop, and in the year after the murder was made Sheriff of Gloucester and afterwards was an itinerant justice, was too much in the King's favour to have been deemed worthy of remembrance by the fervid partisans of the martyred archbishop. If FitzStephen's opinions lay long concealed, his book shows him inferior to none in admiration for his hero. Becket was to him "Thomas of London," a fellow citizen of whom he was proud, a stalwart champion of the Church, a dear friend as well as an honoured master. While Garnier's is the life which has

the best claim to be written for the people, and William of Canterbury writes as a monk for monks, FitzStephen succeeded in a task which he may very probably have consciously set himself, that of preserving the fame of Thomas as the greatest of London citizens, and raising him to the position (which he retained for centuries) of tutelary guardian of the city, its rights and liberties.

John of Salisbury.

Whereas the other biographers of S. Thomas are remembered chiefly through their connection with him, John of Salisbury, apart from his intimate friendship with the Archbishop, was one of the most eminent men of the age. It is probable that he was born about 1120; whether at Salisbury or Wilton, a village near, is doubtful. In 1136 he went to study abroad. In Paris, at S. Geneviève's, he was taught by Abailard; and for twelve years he was under instruction in dialectic, rhetoric, theology, and all the subtleties of scholastic learning, from the greatest teachers of the time. About 1150 he returned to England, with a good word from S. Bernard, and became a chaplain and secretary of Archbishop Theobald. For thirty years, says a great authority, he was "the central figure of English learning." His correspondence was European, and his name was as well known in king's courts as in secluded cloisters. He had won fame before Becket was known, but he was content to be his faithful admirer and companion in exile. The friendship between them which began in the household of Theobald endured to the end, and was none the less strong because of the candour with which the scholar pointed out what seemed to him the faults of the prelate. John returned to England in 1170. At the very last he had advised the archbishop to moderation, and he was an eye-witness of the murder. In 1176 he was appointed Bishop of Chartres. He died in 1180. His biography of Becket is short, which may be regretted now, as it was by contemporaries, for his knowledge was that of a close friend and trusted adviser, and not one of the other biographers approached him in ability.

As a voluminous writer and as the correspondent of almost all the men most eminent in learning and position throughout Europe, as a reformer who denounced the faults of his class with unsparing voice, John of Salisbury fills a prominent place in the history of his age; but the title in which he took most pride would certainly be that of friend and biographer of S. Thomas the Martyr.

Herbert of Bosham.

Herbert of Bosham was the most voluminous biographer of Becket. He was acquainted with his hero at least as early as his chancellorship, and from his consecration until a few days before his death was either with him or engaged in his business. It is characteristic of the two biographers that in the hall at Northampton, when the bishops and barons were angrily discussing the cause in the king's chamber, Herbert advised the archbishop to resort to excommunications if any violence were attempted; while FitzStephen pointed silently to the crucifix which he was carrying. Herbert was a man of daring and rashness, who did not fear to beard the king to his face; his advice to his master was always of the boldest, and the many letters which he wrote on his behalf are the sternest and most prodigal of censures in the whole correspondence. From the time of the archbishop's death he appears to have resided abroad, and to have devoted himself chiefly to enriching the hagiology of the martyr. His life of S. Thomas was begun after most of the other biographies were finished, in 1184, and ended in 1186 or 1187. He wrote not only the life, but "Gesta post Martyrium," a "Catalogus Eruditorum S. Thomae," and "Liber Melorum," the latter an elaborate comparison between the sufferings of the "martyr miles" and "Christus Imperator."

As would be expected from his long and intimate association with Becket, he records many details of remarkable interest, and he writes always with the deepest and most enthusiastic sympathy, but his works are marvels of prolixity. He had an extraordinary fondness for irrelevant comment, which he considered at once

beautiful and profitable; but even contemporaries complained of his inordinate length, and ere long copyists contented themselves and satisfied their readers with abridgments.

Herbert is described at his famous interview with Henry II. as tall and handsome, in costly apparel, wearing a coat of green cloth of Auxerre and a cloak of the same hanging from his shoulders to his heels, after the fashion of the Alamanni, and fitly adorned.

Alan of Tewkesbury.

Alan of Tewkesbury, one of those Englishmen who held office in the sister Norman Conquest in Southern Europe, was for some time a canon of Benevento, returned to England in 1174, and entered the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. He was chosen prior in 1179. In 1189 he was elected abbat of Tewkesbury, where he died in 1202. His beautiful tomb is still to be seen in the Abbey Church behind the high altar to the south. He collected a number of Becket's letters and wrote a short life as a supplement to that of John of Salisbury and an introduction to the correspondence. Though not himself acquainted with the archbishop he had every means of getting trustworthy information, and his character for truth and honour is highly spoken of by contemporaries. His work was accomplished between the years 1176 and 1180. It is concerned with the period from the Council of Clarendon to the meeting of Montmirail, Jan. 6, 1169.

Edward Grim.

Edward Grim, a secular clerk born at Cambridge, paid a visit to Canterbury for the sake of seeing the famous champion of the Church on his return from exile. His claim to enduring remembrance lies in the fact that he was present at the murder and alone stood forward to defend the archbishop from the blow of William de Tracy. He was severely wounded and staggered aside, but saw the last moments of the archbishop and heard his last words, "For the name of Jesus and the defence of the

Church I am ready to die." Himself, as Mr. Freeman says, in some sort a sharer in the martyrdom, he ever after looked upon the saint with the deepest reverence and affection; and he took the greatest pains to secure from oral testimony the most accurate record of his life. He makes a solemn protestation of its truth, similar to that of Garnier. To himself clung something of the respect paid to the martyr, and contemporaries mention him with due tribute to his courage and fidelity. The life was written between 1175 and 1177, and before 1187 its author had passed away.

Roger of Pontigny.

A life of Becket has been ascribed to Roger, a monk of Pontigny, on grounds which seemed to Canon Robertson insufficient. It is, however, certain that the writer was at Pontigny when the archbishop sojourned there, and a monk named Roger is recorded to have been "the holy man's minister while an exile at Pontigny." Further, he refers to the monks as his brethren, and speaks of himself as having "ministered to the blessed man in the time of his exile." The proof is little short of complete, and is accepted by Mr. Freeman as fully satisfactory. The book was written about 1176, and bears a strong resemblance in many points to that of Garnier, from whom many details and expressions seem to have been copied, and with whom, it is by no means improbable, the writer may have been personally acquainted.

Much that Roger records, especially of Becket's earlier life, may well have been told him by the archbishop himself, and the manner in which the record is made is sober and unadorned. It is of the highest value for the time of the exile.

William of Canterbury.

William of Canterbury entered the monastery of Christ Church during the archbishop's absence, and was invested with the monastic habit and ordained deacon by him on his return. He was present at the beginning of the altercation between Becket and

his murderers, and fled when he heard the words of Fitzurse, "Strike, strike." Within eighteen months of the murder he had begun to compile a list of the miracles at the tomb, which he was in a position to observe as he received pilgrims and heard their tales. He presented the book, when finished, to the king, and afterwards wrote a life of the martyr. His work may be regarded as representing the monastic idea of the archbishop, who, though never a monk himself, had by his death made the monastery of Christ Church the most famous in Europe.

Robert of Cricklade and the Icelandic Thomas Saga.

The connection between England and Iceland in the twelfth century was close. Icelanders, as pilgrims, scholars, or traders, constantly visited England. Thus the news of the archbishop's murder soon reached the northern land, and the bishops who visited England within the next few years brought back with them authentic records of the life and martyrdom, which before long were translated into their own tongue, and became a native literature of the subject, compiled and composed by several writers down to the 14th century. As the editor of the Saga for the Master of the Rolls' Series has said—"The Icelandic Thomas Saga stands in a relation of unique interest to English literature. It was in existence at a remarkably short period after the archbishop's death. It soon exercised an influence nothing short of momentous on the relations between Church and State in Iceland. It secured for the name of S. Thomas a popularity which eclipsed that of every other saint, save the Virgin Mary. As we know it now, it is largely due to the pen of an Englishman, who, in the literature of his own country, is unknown as a biographer of Becket; and thus it occupies a position of especial interest in relation to the existing lives of the archbishop." It is important, in fact, as showing in the most vivid way the interest taken in the life of S. Thomas, even in the most distant lands, and as embodying the work of a writer whose characteristic details we should otherwise have not known. Robert of Cricklade, Prior of S. Frideswide's, at Oxford from 1154, and

in 1159 Chancellor of the University, wrote a life of S. Thomas in Latin, which seems to have been the earliest to reach Iceland, and upon which, with the work of Benedict, the Saga was founded. In its Latin form it has wholly perished; but it is probable that what valuable matter in the Saga cannot be traced to other sources is derived from it. The number of facts recorded in the Saga and not in other extant authorities is not large; but there are valuable descriptions of S. Thomas's character and manner of life which we should not readily forego.

Other Authorities.

Besides the lives already mentioned there are

(i) An *anonymous* Biography, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and printed in vol. iv. of the Materials in the Rolls' Series. This is not certainly contemporary, and is of no great value.

There are, besides Garnier, other contemporary or later French lives of the archbishop.

Among these may be mentioned

(ii) The life by one *Benedict*, printed by M. Fr. Michel, in the appendix to the Chronicles of the Dukes of Normandy. This is a poetical lament of no historical value, written not later than the beginning of the 13th century.

(iii) An *anonymous Poem*, printed from a MS. of the 13th century by M. Paul Meyer in 1885, for the Société des Anciens Textes Français. This has no original information, but is embellished by some early and fine miniatures, several of which are reproduced as illustrations to this book.

(iv) There is a life in English verse attributed to Robert of Gloucester on far from conclusive evidence, but it was certainly written within a century of the archbishop's murder. It was published by the Percy Society (edited by W. H. Black, 1845).

(v.) Both these latter lives are based upon the compilation known as the *Quadrilogus*. This was begun in 1198-9, and re-cast in 1212-13. This second edition, increased by the addition of part of the voluminous Becket correspondence, was presented

to archbishop Stephen Langton at the time of the translation of S. Thomas in 1220. The later edition was the work of Roger of Croyland; the earlier of Elias of Evesham, who, in his dedicatory epistle to Abbat Henry of Croyland, thus explains its origin—"As it could not be but that any one writer might be without something which another might perchance have, your fatherhood desired that from the writings of each I should extract and should arrange in order such things as should suffice for a continuous history of the Martyr. Some such thing we read of as having been done from the Gospels themselves by the man who out of the four made one narrative for us; for here likewise there were four authors, John, bishop of Chartres, Alan, abbat of Tewkesbury, William, sub-prior of Canterbury and Master Herbert of Bosham. For Benedict, abbat of Peterborough, wrote only of the end and of those things which happened after the end."

(vi.) The earlier copy was published in the *Materials*, vol. iv. It had previously been edited by Christian Wolf (Lupus) and published at Brussels in 1682. The later was published by Dr. Giles, and had been printed as early as 1495.

(vii.) Another composite life was the work of one *Thomas of Froidmont*, a Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Beauvais. This was published by Dr. Giles (*Anecdota Bedae*, etc., 1851), and is of no original value.

Besides the special biographies of S. Thomas it need hardly be said that the chroniclers of the time are full of references to his life. Gerald de Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis), Gervase, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, William, a canon of Newburgh, Roger of Hoveden, Ralph de Diceto, the dean of S. Paul's, and others give the opinions of contemporaries not directly interested in the struggle, nor are foreign chroniclers silent as to the martyr's fame.

A LIST OF SOME MODERN BOOKS ON BECKET AND HIS TIMES.

Life of Henry II., by Lord Lyttelton. 2nd edition. 4to. 1767.
History of the Reign of Henry II., by Rev. J. Berington. 1790.
Life of Becket, by Canon J. C. Robertson. 1859.
Remains of R. H. Froude. Part II. Vol. 2.
Itinerary of Henry II., by Rev. R. W. Eyton. 1878.
Life of S. Thomas Becket, by John Morris, S. J. Second and enlarged edition. 1885.
The relics of S. Thomas, by J. Morris, S. J. 1888.
Constitutional History of England (Vol. 1), by W. Stubbs, D.D.
Select Charters, edited by W. Stubbs, D.D.
The Early Plantagenets, by W. Stubbs, D.D.
Lectures on Medieval and Modern History, by W. Stubbs, D.D.
History of the Norman Conquest (Vol. 5), by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L.
S. Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers. (Hist. Essays, 1st Series.) By E. A. Freeman, D.C.L.
Life and Times of Thomas Becket, by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L. (Contemp. Rev., 1878.)
Life and Letters of Thomas Becket, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. 2 vols. 1846.
Life and Times of Becket, by J. A. Froude (Nineteenth Century, 1877; Short Studies, Vol. IV.).
Henry II., by Mrs. J. R. Green. 1888.
England under The Angevin Kings, by Kate Norgate. 2 Vols. 1887.
L'Eglise et l'état en Angleterre, by A. duBoys. 1887.
History of Latin Christianity (Vol. V.), by H. H. Milman, D.D.
Students' History of the Church of England (1st Period), by G. G. Perry, M.A.
Thomas Becket, Martyr Patriot, by R. A. Thompson. 1889.
(This last I have not read.)

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